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ABSTRACT

How education has been used for rural development in the People's Republic of China since 1949 may have important lessons for other nations, particularly in the area of nonformal schools. Responsibility for all education lies with the commune. Educational programs, enthusiastically received by the people, support local needs and development rather than preconceived educational models and show a remarkable degree of innovation and pragmatism. Communes offer three basic categories of educational programs: primary-level education for children and a literacy counterpart for adults; middle-level specialized education combining specific training, production work, and applied research to solve specific local problems (the agricultural middle school, a prototype for rural education, is a half-study, half-work system); and various kinds of inservice training and spare-time educational facilities designed to provide skilled, productive manpower and rural leadership. Inservice and spare-time training is also used extensively in training teachers for rural education. Removal of rigid entrance requirements has made formal schools accessible to more people; those who want to continue education are considered only after they apply what they have learned to productive work. Mass media is used intensively in education. (RS)

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Background Paper No. 3

EDUCATION FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

by
Dr. Hsiang-po Lee

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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Introduction by Manzoor Ahmed

June 1972

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This is one of series of background papers prepared in connection with ICED's research study "Nonformal Education for Rural Development."

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PREFACE

When ICED embarked in early 1971 on an international study of nonformal education for rural development designed especially to assist the developing nations of the world, its staff strongly suspected that there might be a variety of useful lessons in the experience over the last 25 years in the People's Republic of China. Relatively little was known outside China about these experiences; documentation on the subject was sparse and much of this was of questionable reliability. Nor was it feasible in the existing circumstances for ICED to send an international research team to China to investigate these educational activities at first hand.

Thus it was decided to do the next best thing, to engage a qualified scholar of Chinese education to piece together the most accurate and objective picture he could from the information available in American university Chinese study centers, especially at Yale, Harvard, and Columbia, and from such other sources as he might uncover. including the reports of journalists and others who have recently visited China.

Dr. Hsiang-po Lee of Yale University agreed to undertake this study for ICED. Born, raised and educated in China, Dr. Lee took a doctorate in comparative education at Ohio State University, where his dissertation dealt with the rural education movement in China during the period roughly from 1920 to 1945. His assignment from

ICED was, in effect, to bring his dissertation up to date to include the post-World War II period.

Despite the paucity of solid evidence, Dr. Lee, with the able editorial assistance of Mrs. Barbara Israel, a member of ICED's staff, has managed to produce a report that contains an abundance of interesting information.

It is clear from this report that China's experiences with nonformal education in both rural and urban areas, quite apart from the ever-present ideological considerations, do indeed contain many useful innovations and technical lessons that warrant further study. Now that the avenues of intellectual interchange are widening, it is to be hoped that other nations may have the opportunity to explore in greater depth Chinese educational experiences and to profit by them as they will.

Philip H. Coombs
Director of the ICED Study of
Nonformal Education
Essex, Connecticut

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INTRODUCTION

by

Manzoor Ahmed

The Chinese educational system has gone through various transformations during the last two decades; the Cultural Revolution, which began in 1966, probably marks the latest major effort to make education serve the goal of preparing "laborers with socialist consciousness and culture."

There have been sporadic attempts by Western educationists to look at the Chinese educational experience, mostly in terms of questions and issues relating to the formal education system. Yet, probably the most important single element of the Chinese educational experience is the apparent attempt to break the rigid mold of traditional formal schools and to forge a link between educational means and methods of both formal and nonformal varieties. The result is a remarkably pragmatic, dynamic system.

Significant features of Chinese education that may hold important lessons for other nations struggling with their educational problems are: (a) the use of the commune structure for primary and other types of education; (b) the agricultural middle school, a prototype institution for rural areas, which combines education, production, and applied research; (c) several types of institutions such as the Communist Labor Universities and the May-7 Cadre schools designed for "inservice" education; (d) the great variety of spare-time institutions; and (e) the extensive use of mass media for

education.

Basic Education Through the Commune

Recognizing the desirability of affording elementary educational opportunities to all children, but admitting at the same time the impracticability of launching a nationwide program with central resources, the government has provided that primary schools in rural areas be the responsibility of the production brigades of the commune. This action is more than a mere transfer of responsibility; the communes represent an altogether new concept of rural development and mobilization of human resources. The philosophy of development reflected in the commune has helped to shape a new kind of rural primary education, which is considered directly relevant to the social and economic goals of the commune.

The commune, as an administrative and geographical unit for social and economic development, is reponsible for basic education of the commune population. This reponsibility is discharged through a variety of institutions and facilities providing essentially the entire population the opportunity for some form of useful education. Three basic categories can be discerned in the wide range of educational programs offered in a commune: primary-level education for children and its counterpart for illiterate and semiliterate adults, aimed at basic literacy; middle-level specialized education combining specific training, production work and applied research to solve specific local problems; and various kinds of in-service training in "red expert universities" and spare-time educational facilities, aimed at developing a cadre of rural leadership to guide and parti-

cipate in party and commune activities.

The commune structure itself--as a means of pooling the productive material and human resources of an area--is a great educational influence in the broadest and deepest sense. As Dr. Lee remarks, the process of adaptation from the isolated, individualistic, tradition-bound rural life to the new organized communal life is the most significant education for the Chinese peasant.

Specialized Rural Schools

A prototype of specialized schools for rural areas is the agricultural middle school. The avowed aim of these schools is to provide an alternative second-level education to primary-school-leavers in order to make them productive workers with "socialist consciousness and culture" in the rural areas. The distinctive feature of these schools is that the content and the timing of educational programs are arranged around the regular farming activities of rural youths and do not pull them off the farms in order to place them in school. A great deal of emphasis is given to solving specific local problems through applied research and experimentation.

Education for Rural Leadership

As the means for developing a leadership cadre in the party and the communes for rural areas and for supplying high-level manpower, including managers, planners, technical specialists, and teachers, new kinds of institutions -- quite different from traditional universities -- have arisen. Among these are the "red expert"

university, the Communist Labor University, the People's University of China, and the May 7 Cadre Schools.

The different kinds of "universities" operated by the communes are typically not the apex of a graded system with fixed entry and exit requirements in terms of number of years in formal education. Students from a wide variety of backgrounds and levels of formal education attend courses of varying duration, which are designed to meet specific local needs for technical and leadership capabilities. Most of the learners are already engaged in occupations and they continue to spend up to half of their time in their jobs while attending courses. In this respect these institutions may be viewed as offering programs for inservice training and skill-upgrading in occupations that serve rural development. Not only is part-time work considered an essential element of education, but the productive activities of the university help to meet a sizeable portion of its costs.

Spare-time Education

A great variety of spare-time educational opportunities are offered to the members of the commune for a wide range of purposes including individual and social development through literacy and health education, industrial skill upgrading for factory workers, rural construction work, and improved farming techniques.

The spare-time educational programs are organized in various ways: by factories for their employees in specific skills as well as cultural education and literacy; by regular secondary and special-

ized schools for the out-of-school population in the area, utilizing the services of the advanced students and instructors; and by universities through special short and part-time courses for training technicians, skilled workers, and peasants. The agricultural production brigade of a commune can become a spare-time agricultural "university" when the brigade finds itself in a situation requiring considerable new learning by the farm workers. The farm and the village, then, become the campus and the practical skills required for farming become the content of instruction. Simple texts are prepared on the relevant subjects and the literate members of the team serve as teaching assistants for teaching the illiterates. Spare-time educational programs, in effect, make it possible to provide some form of education to all members of the commune and convert a large number of institutions, organizations, facilities, and people in the commune into educational resources.

Educational Use of Mass Media

The communications media in China have been pressed into service systematically and on a massive scale for different educational purposes. An extensive radio network covering the whole country is used for a variety of educational programs, besides propaganda.

Lee reports on the use of radio in Shanghai as a means for providing an alternative secondary-level education and a number of spare-time educational programs for factory workers, peasants, housewives, out-of-school youths, and retired people.

Visual and graphic materials such as movies, posters, bulletins, and correspondence are also extensively used. Mobile movie teams go out to the remote areas with visual materials that supplement radio programs. Posters have been a major means of mass education--especially during the Cultural Revolution. Correspondence courses are used to supplement the regular educational programs; one instance is a massive program for inservice upgrading of primary and middle school teachers through correspondence courses.

Diversity

This review of educational efforts for rural development in China leaves us with the impression of a massive educational effort--locally initiated, designed, managed, and supported through the commune structure--to serve rural regions with their diverse needs, potentials, resources, and levels of development. The specific activities and programs are as various in methods, management, content, clientele, and resources as the needs and objectives of the many thousands of communes, production brigades, and production teams. Finally, this effort is characterized by a remarkable degree of innovation and pragmatism. The aim is to serve educational objectives supportive of local development activities rather than fitting into strait-jackets of preconceived formal or nonformal educational models.

An effort of such proportions and diversity as the rural educational development in China is bound to have a wide range in its measures of achievements and standards. The criteria for such

measures will, of course, be different from those for traditional formal education. But whatever criteria are applied, the localized and diversified character of the educational efforts and the inevitable differences in resources, development potentialities, motivation, available leadership, and myriad other elements will produce very uneven results.

It is a question whether an educational drive of such scope and diversity can be launched and sustained without the inspirational and unifying influence of an ideological commitment on the part of the national leadership, and a clear vision of the social and national goals arising out of the commitment. There is little doubt that a development program in education as well as in other fields will be handicapped to the extent that national priorities and objectives are ambiguously formulated and ambivalently accepted. There is also little doubt that the basic approaches to rural education in China offer useful lessons for other nations faced with the problem of rural education.

I. STRUCTURAL CHANGES AND INNOVATIONS IN EDUCATION SINCE 1949

Ever since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Mao Tse-tung's thought has been the guiding light for development in every aspect of national life in China, including education. In line with Mao Tse-tung's statement that, "in an educational system, there should be formal primary and secondary schools and also nonformal schools and literacy classes,"[1] the development of education -- especially at the primary and secondary levels -- has followed a double-track pattern or dual system. In Chinese Communist phraseology, the policy is called "walking on two legs" -- a system of formal schools parallel to the non-formal schools. Within the formal system, the educational ladder from primary school up through university and graduate school probably shows no striking differences from formal educational systems in other countries. In the nonformal system, schools are set up on an ad hoc basis. There are no links between the nonformal schools; each is, in itself, a terminating school.

Since 1949, the changes in China's education have been along three main lines. First was the reorganization of the schools -- particularly the universities -- inherited from the former government. The object was to transform the formerly elite, qualification-oriented universities into specialized, competence-oriented institutions and to spread them out from urban centers to other localities depending on special needs to be met. The second change was the innovation of nonformal schools.

which has met with great enthusiasm from the masses of people in rural areas and has led them to initiate schools on their own. The third major change has been the deformalization of formal schools, making them accessible to a greater number of people by abolishing rigid entrance requirements and by turning over administrative authority from the "bourgeois intellectuals" to the peasants, workers and soldiers. The formal schools now offer nonformal or short-term courses for practical use as well as formal courses.

A brief review of these changes is presented below in chronological order, followed by chapters dealing with various programs of special interest offered by nonformal or deformalized schools.

The Early Years of the People's Republic

Reorganization of Universities

From 1949 to 1952, Chinese schools -- especially those of higher learning -- were completely reorganized according to each one's speciality and to local needs. The 207 institutions of higher education were converted into 14 comprehensive universities, one polytechnical university, and 171 specialized institutes.[2] Almost all of this reorganization was carried out under the direction of Russian advisers because, in the earlier years of the People's Republic, there was great esteem for the Russians' advanced experience in many fields. Such organizational changes, however, solved none of the persistent problems of education in China, such as the shortage of qualified teaching personnel and the inadequacy of facilities and equipment.

. Establishment of Short-Term Middle Schools

Nevertheless, the establishment of Kung-Nung Su-Cheng Chung-hsueh (the short-term middle school for workers and peasants) was a significant innovation during this period. Because of the ambiguity of the Chinese language, this kind of school might be mistaken as a school for giving short-term training to workers and peasants to improve their productivity. Actually, the school was designed exclusively for those workers and peasants who had taken part in the liberation war without having been able to complete their secondary education. In these schools they were given the opportunity to make up their studies in a shorter period of time so that they could prepare themselves for schools of higher learning. Evidently, this kind of school began as a device to reward the Communist soldiers and cadres for their efforts in the revolution.

Only one year after their establishment, however, there were reports of difficulties in operating these schools. First, the diversity of background, experience, and cultural level of the students in each class hindered effective teaching. Second, 70 percent of the students were over 20 years old. They could not concentrate on their school work because they had family responsibilities and problems. Therefore they found gaining an education even harder than the Long March. Third, in these circumstances, it was obviously impossible for the students to complete their secondary education successfully in a short period of three or four years.[3]

Literacy campaigns were also undertaken in the early years, mainly in the form of spare-time educational programs. It was reported that by 1952 more than 3 million workers and 26 million peasants had attended the spare-time programs.[4] (See Chapter IV for a detailed account of literacy programs.)

The First Five-Year Plan

. Reorganization of Secondary Schools

The second wave of change in Chinese education -- with more emphasis on change at the secondary level -- took place between 1953 and 1957, years of the First Five-Year Plan. As the need for skilled workers and technicians for the program of the Five-Year Plan increased, secondary vocational schools were converted into specialized schools, such as agricultural, mining, chemical engineering, trade, etc. There were altogether about 22 different kinds of specialized technical schools.[5] In addition, technical courses were added to the curriculum of the general middle schools so that graduates could be expected to have some specialized technical knowledge if they chose not to go to higher schools but to join the labor force in either agriculture or industry.

. Establishment of Spare-Time Schools

One outcome of the National Joint Conference of the Ministry of Education and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions on Spare-time and Short-time Education for Workers and Peasants, held in February-March 1955, was the establishment of a great number of spare-time schools for workers. The purpose of these schools was to elevate the cultural

level as well as the productivity of the workers. In principle, such schools were financed and operated by large factories for the training of their own workers, and each school held literacy classes for those workers who were illiterate. In one year, in Shanghai alone, 46 spare-time schools were established with an enrollment of 38,460 students.[6]

But because of the factory leaders' inexperience in school operation and their ignorance of the aim of this special kind of school, the organizational management and the curriculum of these schools were patterned on those of the traditional formal middle schools. Thus, education offered by these schools bore little relevance to production and workers were reported to have little interest in attending the school.

. Innovations in Teacher Training

There were, however, significant innovations in teacher education during these years. For instance, besides an increase from seven teachers colleges in the nation to fifty-two,[7] spare-time teachers colleges in large cities and provincial capitals for the in-service middle school teachers were established. In-service teachers could take courses in their own field either through correspondence or by using their spare time to attend classes at a nearby spare-time teachers college. And in many cases, the spare-time teachers college sent its faculty members to middle schools to observe classes, to give teaching demonstrations, and to discuss problems in teaching with teachers of the school.

At the lower level, the normal schools formerly designed to train teachers solely for primary schools were also changed into a new system to train teachers for various kinds of schools at the primary level. In principle, each hsien (county) is required to have at least one normal school to train teachers needed in that locality. Such programs for teacher training were reported to have won wide support and have been very successful. These programs were considered long overdue in meeting the problem of teacher shortages.

The"Great Leap Forward" in Education

In response to the launching of the Great Leap Forward campaign in 1958 and, coincidentally, with the advent of communes, existing educational programs were lavishly expanded and the number of schools and enrollments at each level were increased. Various kinds of new schools were also established during this period. Although the magnitude of the expansion and the extent of the "leap" in education cannot be precisely measured because of the lack of reliable statistics, one certainty was that with the limited resources available, quantitative expansion would lead to qualitative decline. Even before the Great Leap had completely stopped, a plea for readjustment and consolidation of the mushrooming educational establishments arose throughout the country.

For rural areas, however, the educational innovations of the period, including the agricultural middle schools, the Communist Labor universities, and the commune schools (See Chapter II) were significant.

. Agricultural Middle Schools

With the advent of the people's commune, a myriad of agricultural middle schools emerged incredibly quickly. In Kiangsu Province alone, for instance, more than three thousand such schools were reported to have been set up in only half a month.[8] (Although Kiangsu was originally more advanced in education than other provinces, such a phenomenal record still seems somehow implausible.)

These schools were designed to train rural youth to become farm workers with "socialist consciousness and culture" and with practical knowledge of modern agricultural methods. Since the government could not afford to provide an adequate number of regular middle schools for all primary school graduates, the agricultural middle schools served as substitutes for the rural youth. Chou En-lai once remarked that more than 37 million youngsters between the ages of 13 to 16 in the nation were entitled to an opportunity for middle school education, but the junior middle schools at the time could accommodate only 7 million.[9]

The length of schooling at agricultural middle schools ranges from two to three years, and the school is operated on the basis of half-work and half-study. In principle, there is less study during the busy farming season and more during the slack season, occasional study during the busiest season and all-day study on rainy days and in winter. A student can even allot his time in such a way as to study in early morning and evening, and to work in between.

The education offered by the agricultural middle school was projected to be a tripartite combination of learning, production, and scientific research, and the curriculum is composed of politics, Chinese language and literature, mathematics and agricultural knowledge. Emphasis is on field work and experimentation in crop cultivation, fertilizer application, animal husbandry, manufacturing of chemical fertilizer and insecticides, among other topics. For instance, the Lakeshore Agricultural Middle School in Huiyang County of Kuangtung Province, now offers three different kinds of programs: the junior middle school class for the local primary school graduates; the specialized technical training class, such as tractor operators, rural electricians, farm technicians, etc.; and the short-term ad hoc classes for farming improvement and innovations.[10]

Teachers for these schools were recruited from the graduates of general senior middle schools, primary school teachers, party cadres who had been sent to the countryside for work experience, and local party leaders.

Because of its practicality, this kind of school met with great enthusiasm from the people in rural areas. In 1960, for instance, two years after its establishment, Huang-k'ou Agricultural Middle School in Anhui, a neighboring province of Kiangsu, was reported to have succeeded

in manufacturing more than two hundred kinds of insecticides and chemical fertilizer through research and experiments based on indigenous traditional methods.[11] In late April of 1958, as reported, the rice sprouts in the area of Huang-k'ou were seriously damaged by a certain kind of insect. The peasants did not know what to do and the agricultural middle school was called upon for help. Then the principal of the school and concurrently the party secretary of the local party branch called a public meeting of the experienced peasants from that area and the teachers and students of the school to discuss the problem and to try to find a solution to it. Combining the book knowledge of the school people with the actual experience of the peasants, they decided to make an insecticide by mixing powdered croton-oil bean with caustic lime to spray over the damaged spots. The result was unsatisfactory. After another round of discussion and study, they tried to replace the powdered croton-oil bean with powdered arsenic. After applying this new mixture, the insects became inactive but were not killed. Through further research, it was discovered that these insects could not be completely killed unless they ate a certain amount of the insecticide. Then they worked out a new formula able to lure the insects to eat it. Finally they succeeded in killing the insects. Since then they were encouraged by the local people and subsequently succeeded in making more kinds of agricultural medicine and chemical fertilizer.

By and large, the introduction of the agricultural middle schools, in terms of China's rural conditions, is a significant innovation. The proper functioning of the schools was, however, imperiled by the "leap"

manner in which they had emerged. The operation of the agricultural middle schools was reported to have the following difficulties:

First, no locality could provide the necessary facilities to accommodate the great number of schools which came into being all at once. Temples, pagodas, and monasteries were used as temporary shelters, but they were not sufficient for all the students to pursue their education and to carry out their experiments.

Second, in many provinces it was reported that senior middle school graduates without professional training did not know how to teach. (Kiangsu Province was an exception. Here senior middle school graduates were recruited and given a four-month professional training before they were assigned to schools to teach.)

Third, no suitable teaching materials were available to meet the requirements for the agricultural courses.

Fourth, following the half-work half-study system, most of the students missed both ends. They could not devote themselves wholly to study or to work. And the daily schedule was so flexible it led to confusion.[12]

Despite these problems, the agricultural middle school not only weathered difficulties but is today a stereotyped institution throughout the country, serving as both rural middle school and farm technical center.

The agricultural middle school has served another significant purpose in Chinese education. This is its absorption of unemployed and out-of-school youths from the cities, turning them into productive agricultural workers on the communes. (See Chapter XIII)

. Communist Labor Universities

The Communist Labor University is another innovative institution combining learning with production activity on a half-work, half-study schedule. In Kiangsi province, where the Chinese Soviet Republic was first established in 1931, a Kiangsi Communist Labor University was founded. Its students were drawn from among workers, veterans, and shop-keepers. Therefore the educational background varied greatly, as did the age range. Besides the main campus in Nanchang county, 88 branches are scattered throughout the province. At different branches different courses were offered according to the needs of the locality. To achieve close association of learning with scientific experiment, students are required to have their theoretic learning in the evening and practical experiment during the day time. Under the university's policy of self-support, students have to take part in various productions as a means to meet the expenses of the university. Therefore, first-year students must spend six months at production, five months at study; second-year students, five months at production, six months at study; third- and fourth-year students, four months at production, seven months at study; everyone has one month of vacation each year.[13]

In seven years, the university was reported to have sent more than 16,000 graduates back to the countryside to take part in various programs of "socialistic reconstruction" in that province. The graduates were reportedly well received by the masses because they, unlike the "bourgeois intellectual" elites, are experts belonging to the people and work together with the people. Those students who originally came from other provinces and municipalities have returned to their home areas to try to carry out extension work of this university.[14]

The Communist Labor University has become an accepted type of rural

university and has been established throughout the country. By 1965 this kind of university had already been established in Peking and in many provinces, including Kiangsu, Fuchien, Hopei, Yunnan, Sinkiang, and others. In Kiangsi, where the university originated, there were 117 such universities by 1971.[15]

The Proletarian Revolution in Education

Since 1968, in the wake of the Cultural Revolution which started in 1966, the educational system as a whole has been undergoing a revolution. Just as the Cultural Revolution was intended to right what was wrong in government and society, so was the Proletarian Revolution to reform education. Through this revolution, a new pattern of school administration and a new form of curriculum and teaching combined with productive labor are to be created. The domination of the schools by "bourgeois intellectuals" is to be completely ended, and students are to become intellectual-laborers with socialist consciousness and culture.[16] Hereafter, the dividing line between intellectuals and laborers will be blurred, if not completely erased. China's education system, if the revolution is successful, will be a system of schooling and a system of compulsory labor.

Prior to the Cultural Revolution, schools at different levels were operated by "bourgeois intellectuals" and experts in education

with a deeply rooted belief in "education for education's sake." As a consequence, no drastic change had ever been made in the formal schools. Even today "much of the conventional teaching system remains," reported Tillman Durdin of The New York Times when he visited schools in Peking and elsewhere in China.[17] Even the non-formal schools were operated for the most part by formally educated people, so that students in these schools gradually became interested more in book learning than in productive labor, to which they had originally been oriented. During the period of readjustment and consolidation following the Great Leap, students were urged to study hard in order to climb to the top of the education ladder. Students in some spare-time literacy classes were reported to have considered going up to the universitiy. From 1960 on, there were suggestions throughout the country to reduce students' involvement in politics and productive activities to improve the quality of education. Obviously, this tendency contradicted the proclaimed principle that "education must be in service for production and at the service of the proletariats."

It is against this background that the decision of education reform during the Cultural Revolution was made.[18] According to a directive from Mao,[19] the proletarian revolution in the city schools must be carried out by a three-in-one alliance of workers, soldiers, and the activitists among teachers and student; in rural areas, education should be entrusted to the poor and lower-middle peasants.

The accomplishments of the current revolution in education, as reported by newspapers and magazines from mainland China, are summarized below:

. School Administration

The structure of school management has been changed. The position of president in universities and colleges and of principal in lower level schools has been abolished. Authority and responsibility for managing the schools now rest in a revolutionary committee, composed in the form of the "three-in-one" alliance of soldiers (from the People's Liberation Army), workers, and representatives of teachers and students. In rural areas, schools are managed by a revolutionary committee composed of representatives of the poor and lower-middle peasants, cadres of the production team, and representatives of teachers and students.

. Access

The system of entrance examination has been abolished. Students are now selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and are recommended by the production team and approved by the commune. Every senior middle school graduate is required to work in factories or on farms for two or three years before he can qualify as a candidate for an institution of higher learning.

. Length of Schooling

The number of school years has been reduced: from six to five years for primary school, and, instead of the former three years for junior and three for senior middle school, five years for middle school has been adopted. As local conditions permit, a system of seven years for primary school plus junior middle school, or nine years for primary through senior middle school is being experimented with.

. Work Experience

Each year every senior middle school student is required to work for four weeks in a factory and four weeks on the farm during vacation.[20]

. "Schools Down to the Commune"

The responsibilities of the hsien government for supporting and operating primary schools in rural areas have been transferred to the production brigades of the commune; therefore the rural primary schools are now managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants.[21]

. Textbook Revision

Textbooks for each level of school have been revised by a committee composed of revolutionary students, teachers, workers, and peasants. The guidelines for revision are to use local materials to meet local needs, "to grasp revolution and to promote production." Even the mathematics textbook is no exception. For example, one question in the text reads, "When the elderly worker named Tung was 6 years old, his family was on the verge of starvation. He had to borrow five tou (about 40 pounds) of corn from a landlord. The wolfish landlord demanded 50 percent interest, compounded. The corn was borrowed for three years. How much grain did the landlord demand from Tung at the end of the third year?"[22]

The Revolution and New Schools

The revolutionized organization of schools at each level is either in the process of experimentation or a subject of public discussion. For instance, Peking Middle School No. 23 is experimenting with a new kind of four-year middle school. In this school, students are required

to complete four courses in two years: politics, Chinese language and literature, general knowledge of industrial and agricultural subjects -- including mathematics, physics and chemistry, and one foreign language. Then one year is to be spent in a village to take part in the "three great revolutions" -- class revolution, production revolution, and scientific research and experimentation; this is followed by eight months in a factory to learn one to three kinds of productive skills, and four months in the army to learn military affairs.[23]

Obviously this experiment is in compliance with Mao Tse-tung's "May 7" directive,[24] in which he urged that everyone, besides his assigned duty, should also learn something else and should be able to do different things under different circumstances. "May 7" today has become a popular Chinese phrase which stands for the concept of many-sidedness and also connotes hard labor.

. "May 7" Cadre Schools

Since 1969, after the Liu-ho May 7 Cadre School was set up in Heilung-chiang Province, a great number of "May 7" cadre schools have emerged all over the country for the cadres who had been dismissed from office during the Cultural Revolution. The purpose is "to strengthen their political and ideological beliefs and to heighten their consciousness." Such schools are built with the "Tachai spirit"* -- namely, cadres are sent to waste-land which they are to develop; they are to make their own farms and build

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* See Chapter IX

their own classrooms for learning Mao Tse-tung's thoughts. Experienced peasants and workers teach them manual work. Recent newspapers and magazines from mainland China report that the "May 7" cadre schools have been very successful in training the cadres for the hard struggle in rugged environments, and that it is ideal for the in-service cadres to have such training so that they never become inactive and corrupted. The number of "May 7" cadre schools -- products of the current revolution in education -- will undoubtedly be increased.

."May 7" Labor School

In the countryside, besides the agricultural middle school and Communist Labor University, still other experimental rural schools are being established. For instance, in Juei-ping Hsien, Kwangsi Province, a May 7 Labor School was established in December 1968, as a polytechnical middle school with classes in agriculture, machine-repairing, rural medicine, veterinary studies, and electrical engineering. Operated and financed by the commune, this school enrols students selected from among the youth in the commune who have had an education in primary school or junior and senior middle school. Every student, upon completion of his studies,must return to the place he came from. City youth may also enrol in the school on the condition that they must stay on in the countryside after graduation.

Of the 32 teachers and administrators in this school, 14 were selected from among the experienced workers and poor and lower-middle peasants; 11 were from government cadres; 7 were former teachers and college graduates. The worker-peasant teachers reportedly receive more

respect from students because their explanations are simpler and easier to understand. Classes are conducted sometimes in classrooms and sometimes in the field. In each class, the teacher must both explain and demonstrate the lesson; sometimes explanation and demonstration are given by the students and supplemented by the teacher. For example, in an agricultural class where the subject matter was sugar cane, an old peasant was first invited to give a lecture about the procedures of planting sugar cane. The the teacher and students together demonstrated the procedure and finally the teacher summarized the reasons for these procedures. The students thus found the lesson easy to memorize and knew how to apply it.

Learning and application are closely connected. Students in the agricultural class use farms as their laboratory to practice what they have learned. Students from machine-repairing class were reported to have repaired more than 800 seeding machines and 20 tractors. Students from rural medicine classes have established health stations in several villages. Veterinary class students have gone to villages to help the peasants cure domestic animal diseases.

The duration of schooling is one year. In December 1969, 491 students graduated: 108 became literacy education teachers; 43, teachers; 30, leaders of the production brigade; 29, rural doctors; 24 were sent to other communes to help their reconstruction programs; 22 became general workers in the commune factories and on farms; 13 participated in the propaganda team of "struggle-criticism-transformation"; and 8 became agricultural technicians. Moreover, as a result of the joint labor of students and teachers, the school

farm in 1969 produced 560,000 jin (1 jin is equal to 1.1 lb.) of rice, 30,000 jin of corn, 50,000 jin of peanuts, and 800 tons of sugar cane.[25]

. A Multipurpose Primary School

The production brigades of the communes have now begun to operate rural primary schools, which were formerly under the control of the county governments. The brigade school in Lin-tao Hsien (Kansu Province) is an example of the combination of learning functions undertaken by primary schools since their transfer to brigade control. Designed as an experiment to offer regular primary education to school-age children and literacy education to the illiterates of the area, this school has four programs: the regular class, the village class, the tutorial class, and the people's class. The regular class is for school-age children. The village class is a group of advanced students in the regular class who go after school hours to the village to teach those children who cannot attend school. The tutorial class is also made up of children from the regular class who go, individually (after school hours), to teach the illiterate wherever convenient for the learner. The people's class is a literacy class to teach illiterate adults to read and write in their spare time. It was reported that in one year, 38 of the 243 illiterates who had attended the people's class had learned to read Mao's quotations and to write diaries.[26]

. New "Socialist University"

At the college level, Tsing-hua University, a prestigious institution considered by many to be China's M.I.T., has pioneered in experimentation with a new type of so-called socialist university.

Established in 1909 and financed by the Returned Boxer Indemnity from the United States of America, Tsing-Hua was a preparatory school for students going to study in the United States. In 1929 it was promoted to National Tsing-hua University, and in 1952 it was reorganized into a polytechnical university.

Today, Tsing-Hua is under the management of a revolutionary committee made up of soldiers, workers, students, and teachers, instead of the former pattern of administration. Most of its former professors have received re-education from the soldiers, workers and peasants using their off-duty time; in addition, a group of soldiers, workers, and peasants has become part of the faculty. In order to open the university to society to serve more people, the university sponsors programs of training technicians, skilled workers, and peasants in short-term and spare-time training classes. It also operates factories and experimental farms to blend learning, scientific research, and production. Teaching plans are made jointly by teachers and the soldier-worker-peasant students. In factories and on farms, the work of planning, production, and evaluation is also done by a group thus composed.[27]

This university, formerly regarded as a headquarters of the

"bourgeois intellectuals" in China, is now supposed to have become a new type of socialist university. There is evidence, however, that even though ideologically the "bourgeois intellectuals" at Tsing-Hua have been brought round somewhat to a proletarian way of thinking and the management of the university is in the hands of the proletariats, Tsing-Hua has not yet surrendered its status as a leading formal institution of science and technology in China. On the contrary, it remains a showcase, and few visitors to Peking have missed being received at the university.

Continuing Reform

School reform is a subject of continuing public concern. On November 14, 1968 the People's Daily started a column, in the form of a forum, to invite the public to discuss how to reform the existing middle and primary schools to make them more useful in helping the people improve their productivity. Since then a great number of articles pertaining to this subject have been printed in the paper. In May 1969, the paper published a draft plan for education in rural middle and primary schools, submitted by the Revolutionary Committee of Lishu County in Kirin Province. (See Appendix for translation of this draft plan.) Thereafter, discussion has focused on this plan which, with modification, may eventually be adopted as the standard form of rural middle and primary school in China. In the same paper, another forum has presented discussion on how to transform institutions of higher education into socialist universities.

Observations on the Educational Revolution

The current revolution in education is not yet ready to be labeled as success or failure; its outcome remains unpredictable.

The abolition of the entrance examination system is probably the most significant step in the attempt to make educational institutions productive units and productive units educational institutions. Under the new policy, admission to colleges and universities is no longer determined by the result of the competitive examination but upon recommendation of the production team and the commune, based on the candidate's records of production efforts as well as socialist consciousness. Those who want to become candidates for higher-level education must apply what they have learned to productive work before they are given consideration. Thus, education has been reoriented from preparation for the next level of schooling to preparation for industrial or agricultural productivity.

Further, the transfer of responsibility for supporting education from the county government to the commune should lead to the proliferation of nonformal schools. The commune can have whatever kind of school the local people need and can pay for, without the necessity of having government approval or of conforming with the pattern prescribed by the government. This move may eventually lead to decentralization of administrative control over education, and the Ministry of Education would gradually become a clearing house for educational information and data. Consequently, educational development in China will be free from the

restraint of inadequate allocation of financial resources by the government. Efforts to have universal education in China will therefore have a brighter prospect.

NOTES

CHAPTER I: Structural Changes and Innovations in Education Since 1949

1. This statement is often cited by newspapers and magazines of mainland China. It first appeared in Mao's speech, "Wen-hua kung-tso-che te tung-yi chan-hsien" (The united front of the cultural workers), delivered at the meeting of the cultural workers in the border areas of Shensi, Kansu, and Ninghsia, October 30, 1944.

2. For a complete list of the institutions, see Leo A. Orleans, Professional Manpower and Education in Communist China. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1960, pp. 176-213.

3. Shih Wei-san, "Ch'uan-kuo kung-nung su-cheng chung-hsueh kai-k'uang" (Report on conditions of the Short-term Middle School for Workers and Peasants throughout the nation). Jen-min chiao-yu (People's Education), No. 5, 1955, pp. 50-52.

4. Lin Han-ta, "San-nien-lai te nung-kung yeh-yu chiao-yu" (Spare-time education for workers and peasants in the past three years), Jen-min chiao-yu, No. 1, 1953, pp. 16-19.

5. Yuan Tsun-chao, Kung-fei chung-teng chiao-yu te p'i-p'an (Critique on Chinese Communists' secondary education), Taipei, Taiwan: Chung-yang Wen-wu Kung-ying She, 1959, pp. 73-76.

6. Chao Ming, "Tan-tan kung-nung yeh-yu chiao-yu te kai-ke kung-tso" (Talking about the improvement of our spare-time education for workers and peasants), and Chou Tse-lin, "Yung hsin fang-chen chien-ch'a wo-men te chih-kung yeh-yu chiao-yu kung-tso" (Toward a new policy of our spare-time education for workers), Jen-min chiao-yu, No. 9, 1958, pp. 27-30.

7. Leo A. Orleans, op. cit., pp. 194-201.

8. Wu Tien-shih, "Kiangsu to nung-yeh chung-hsueh" (Agricultural middle schools in Kiangsu Province), Jen-min chiao-yu, No. 5, 1958, pp. 12-13.

9. Jen-min Shou-ts'e (People's handbook), 1959, p. 505.

10. Jen-min Jih-pao, May 16, 1971.

11. Li Chien, "Huang-k'ou nung-yeh chung-hsueh te liang-nien" (Two years of Huang-k'ou Agricultural Middle School), Hung-ch'i (Red-flag), No. 13, 1960, pp. 25-30.

12. Ouyang Hui-lin, "Nung-yeh chung-hsueh te ti-i-nien" (The first year of the agricultural middle schools), Hung-ch'i, No. 7, 1959, pp. 34-38.

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13. Jen-min Jih-pao, June 12, 1960.

14. Kwang-ming Jih-pao, September 16, 1965.

15. Wang chang-ling. "Kiangsi kung-chan chu-i lao-tung ta-hsueh chih yen-chiu" (A study of the Kiangsi Communist Labor University) in Fei-ching Yueh-pao (Communist Affairs Monthly). Taipei, Taiwan: No. 4, 1971, p. 24.

16. There are sixteen points in the decision adopted on August 8, 1966, by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The tenth point titled "Educational Reform" reads:

"In the great proletarian cultural revolution a most important task is to transform the old educational system and the old principles and methods of teaching.

In this great cultural revolution, the phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed.

In every kind of school we must apply thoroughly the policy advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung of education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labour, so as to enable those receiving an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and to become labourers with socialist consciousness and culture.

The period of schooling should be shortened. Courses should be fewer and better. The teaching material should be thoroughly transformed, in some cases beginning with simplifying complicated material. While their main task is to study, students should also learn other things. That is to say, in addition to their studies they should also learn industrial work, farming and military affairs, and take part in the struggles of the cultural revolution to criticize the bourgeoisie as these struggles occur." From Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1966.

17. The New York Times, May 7, 1971.

18. See footnote 16.

19. "In carrying out the proletarian revolution in education, it is essential to have working-class leadership; it is essential for the masses of workers to take part and, in co-operation with the Liberation Army fighters, bring about a revolutionary 'three-in-one' combination, together with the activists among the students, teachers and workers in the schools who are determined to carry the proletarian revolution through to the end. The workers' propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and take part in fulfilling all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the schools, and they will always lead the schools. In the countryside, the schools should be managed by the poor and lower-

NOTES (Continued)

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middle peasants -- the most reliable ally of the working class." Jen-min Jih-pao, August 26, 1968, and quoted in Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No. 8, 1970.

20. Chung-kung yen-ch'iu (Studies on Chinese Communism), Vol. 4, No. 2, February, 1970, Taipei, Taiwan.

21. Chung-kung yen-ch'iu (Studies on Chinese Communism), Vol. 4, No. 1, January, 1970, Taipei, Taiwan.

22. The New York Times, March 9, 1969.

23. New China News Agency, Peking, December 7, 1968.

24. On May 7, 1966, Mao Tse-tung wrote a letter to Lin Piao to urge Lin to try to make the People's Liberation Army into a big school. Soldiers, besides military affairs, should also learn farming, factory work and language and literature. So should the peasants, workers and students. The passage concerning students reads: "Same with students, while taking study as the primary duty, they should learn other things as well. In addition to literature, they must also learn about industry, agriculture and military science, and they must criticize the bourgeoisie. The years of schooling must be shortened and the education must be revolutionized. The ruling of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals must be discontinued." Jen-min Jih-pao (People's Daily), October 25, 1967.

25. "Wei ch'uang-pan she-hui-chu-i li-kung-ke ta-hsueh erh fen-tou" (To struggle for creating a socialist university of science and technology) Hung-ch'i (Red Flag). A special issue of proletarian educational revolution, No. 8, 1970, pp. 40-45.

26. Ibid., pp. 35-39.

27. Ibid., pp. 5-19.

II. THE COMMUNE AS AN EDUCATIONAL INSTRUMENT

While educational experimentation has taken place since the founding of the People's Republic, the major boost to nonformal educational efforts in rural areas probably came with the advent of the commune system in 1958. Though the communes have responsibility for formal as well as nonformal education, the innovations in nonformal education have far outstripped those in the formal schools.

We should note at the outset that the commune itself, in the broadest sense, is a school, offering education to the peasants to cope with problems in rural development. Communalization took place in the short space of six years, and by 1964 there were 74,000 communes, comprising almost the entire population of China.[1] Thus the peasants moved in a few years from formerly isolated and and backward villages and from a tradition of individualism to a new collective life. The commune has brought with it hospital, nursery, mess hall, recreation centers -- all of which were unknown in rural China before. While recent visitors to China (Seymour Topping, for example, in 1971[2]) have noted the persistence of tradition in rural areas, the commune has nonetheless to a great extent transformed the lives of rural peasants.

Organization

The commune is an administrative unit under absolute party control. Within its boundaries, policies on agriculture, industry, trade,

economy, education, and military affairs as well as the social life and activities of individuals are made and carried out by party leaders. Each commune is divided into several production brigades, which are, in turn, composed of several production teams. Sputnik Commune, a pioneer of the movement, may serve as an example of the size of each of these units. At its beginning, in 1958, it comprised more than 9,000 households and close to 49,000 people, who were organized into 26 production brigades and 221 production teams. The commune covered a land area of 320,760 mou (approximately six mou equal one acre), of which the cultivated land was 112,716 mou.

Administration

The highest authority of a commune is, theoretically, the congress of the representatives of the commune members. In practice, however, the administrative committee is the highest functioning organ. The committee has a director, several vice-directors, and a number of members. Under the jurisdiction of the committee are different departments. Although there is some variation, in most communes these departments include agriculture, water conservation, forestry, animal husbandry, industry and transportation, finance and food, commerce, culture and education, internal affairs and labor, armed defense, planning and research and welfare.

Each production brigade has its own administrative committee, which follows in miniature the structure of the commune committee and is directed by the brigade commander and several vice-commanders. These commanders are elected at the general meeting of the brigade members. The brigade administrative committee derives its authority from, and reports directly to, the administrative committee.

In the production team, the leadership pattern is similar to that of the brigade. Each team holds its own general meeting at which a commander and several deputy commanders are elected.

Individuals in the commune are paid according to a wage-grading system. In the beginning, it was rather complicated and involved a number of steps. The team first suggested to the brigade the wage grades of its members; the brigade then compared and evaluated the reports of its various component teams and forwarded its report to the commune administrative committee for final decision. It is reported that the system has been revised and simplified since then.

Educational Policy

A variety of educational methods and structures were endorsed by the party in its resolution concerning the people's commune (passed by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on December 10, 1958). The following passage includes the main guidelines for communal responsibility:

> The commune should be responsible for having its primary schools, middle schools and adult education run well. First, primary school education must be made universally available in villages across the country. Then the universalization of secondary education can be gradually achieved by establishing all-day middle schools, half-day middle schools, agricultural middle schools and other kinds of secondary vocational schools. In adult education, programs of literacy education must be carried out conscientiously, and various kinds of spare-time schools be established for political, cultural and technical education. To universalize education among the laboring people and to elevate their educational level must be seriously carried out because it is a significant step to narrow down the gap between mental and manual labor. Moreoever, each commune should select its youth and send them to senior middle schools, secondary specialized schools and schools of higher learning, so that the nation and the commune can have

> more workers with higher level of culture. Any kind of school ought to follow closely the principle of combining education with productive labor.[3]

Sputnik Commune and Its "Universities"

Sputnik Commune (named for the Russian Sputnik which was launched on October 4, 1957) is said to have been the first publicly-announced people's commune in China. It was established on April 20, 1958, in Suiping County of Honan Province, and comprised 9,337 households and 48,885 people. Within five months after the organization of the commune,schools of various kinds were established and almost everyone in the commune became a student.

People in the Sputnik Commune worked out three levels of schooling. The commune was responsible for what were termed red-expert, comprehensive universities; the production brigades were responsible for half-farming and half-study red-expert universities and various specialized schools; and the production teams were responsible for the spare-time universities.

The names of these communal schools, such as red-expert university, spare-time school, half and half school and others, are confusing. But the schools themselves apparently contributed greatly to

combating rural problems such as poverty, illiteracy, and ill health. The use of the word "university " in these titles may be designed to compensate for the inferiority complex caused by illiteracy. But literally, these schools are universities in the sense that people can learn almost anything there. In fact, however, universities at the commune level are comparable in terms of cultural level to middle schools, those in the brigades, to the higher primary schools, and those operated by the production teams, to the lower primary schools.

According to recent reports, apparently only the "red-expert" university has survived, and the establishment of this kind of university, as extension work, can be seen in many other communes. The half-study and half-farming, and the spare-time universities have been replaced by the agricultural middle school. However, a review of the organization and functions of these first universities is of significant interest, for the methods developed in them have found their way into present educational endeavors.

The driving force behind the establishment of these "universities" was the need for skilled workers to develop the commune. The goals of the commune were to increase production, mechanize farming, and to achieve rural electrification and irrigation. For the people's welfare there were plans -- however quixotic -- for each village to have a hospital, public health facilities, nurseries, a "happy home" for the elderly, a theater, public transportation facilities, and gardens. In Sputnik Commune, it is said that for these projects 2,750 technicians were needed; when the commune was founded only 1,610 were available. The universities were thus to make up for this shortage of technicians.

Commune University

The purpose of the commune "university" is reportedly to prepare leaders with specialized farming skills and knowledge for the production brigades, and also to prepare teachers for the spare-time "universities" in the brigades. Students in the commune universities are selected from those in production brigades between the ages of 18 to 22, who have completed their primary school education. The "professors" are local intellectuals, workers with practical experience, and model farmers. Most of the universities include a Marx-Lenin College for ideological training; an engineering college for training mechanics, metal workers, and civil engineers; an agricultural college for training workers on farms, in vegetable gardens, and weather stations; a college of forestry; a medical college for training obstetricians, medical doctors, prophylactics and surgeons; a college of veterinary science; a college of finance and economics; and a college of arts. The length of schooling is one to two years. Depending on the actual conditions of the locality, studies may be carried out on the basis of all-day or half-study and half-work systems, and the students are encouraged to take courses that they really need in their work. Field work and classroom work are equally emphasized. The commune party branch secretary is the president and a number of party cadres are vice-presidents of the commune university.

Brigade University

The organization of the half-farming and half-study "university" operated by the brigades is much simpler than that of the commune universities. Students are selected from among the party cadres working in the brigades, and the scholastic requirement for admission to the university is a lower-primary education or simply literacy. The "professors" are the leaders of the brigades,

experienced peasants, and model farmers. In a true sense, this kind of university is a training class by the commune party cadres to promote productivity among the masses. The specialized skill training class of the brigades adopted a policy of on-the-spot training and uses the "learning by doing" approach to teach those peasants who were not previously prepared for the job. For instance, one spring a project of building a dam was started. Seventeen training classes assembled around the work site. Before the peasants started to work, they were given a brief explanation of the plan of the dam and how to construct it, followed by a demonstration by the experienced workers as teachers of the training class. Thus the peasants could learn while they were working.

Production Team University

Most of the spare-time agricultural "universities" of the production teams use the same approach to teach their students. A spare-time agricultural university is in reality an organization of a working team. The commander of the production team is also the president of the university. All adults except the illiterate members of the team are students. The teachers are the commanders of the team and experienced peasants. Sometimes a few young people with a relatively high degree of literacy are assigned as teaching assistants. The teaching-learning activities often take place on the farm, and sometimes in the village. The subject matter contains no theory but rather the practical skills of farming. The selection of teaching material depends on what kind of farming work must be done in the particular season of the year.

For example, in the season for cotton planting, teaching-learning activities are concentrated on everything related to cotton planting. A simple textbook, written in the form of nursery rhymes, is always required. One textbook, for example, prepared by the education and culture department of the commune, is designed to be used for one school year and includes chapters on wheat, corn, potato, sesame, cotton, bean, vegetables, and rice. Each chapter relates the experience of reaping a good harvest of each of these crops within and outside this area.

The illiterate members of the team are taught by the literate on a voluntary basis. Their teaching-learning activities can take place anytime and any place.

According to reports, in Sputnik Commune more than 17,000 people have learned to make chemical fertilizer; more than 1,800, to operate various machines; 30,000 have mastered the skills of planting rice sprouts, cotton, potatoes, and sesame. Some have even learned to produce marsh gas, to make land surveys, and to design dams; and 594 outstanding students have succeeded in transforming old two-pedalled water-wheels for irrigation into automatic or wind-driven machines, and in modernizing more than 18,000 farming tools. Also there are no more problems in accounting, bookkeeping, and work-point registration, and many of the female members of the commune, through a short-term training, are now able to give medical service to the commune.[4]

In addition, under the auspices of the department of education and culture of the commune, there are one junior middle school, five

primary schools, science research committee, compilation committee, broadcasting station, public library, and theaters. But these kinds of schools failed to win the support and enthusiasm of the people as the nonformal "universities" had.

The enthusiasm for nonformal schools is widespread and not limited just to Sputnik Commune. Possibly the rural peasants see the formal schools as being irrelevant to their daily life, whereas the nonformal schools, which they created by themselves, teach them things that help them in one way or another to improve their life. Thus, while the"two legs" of Chinese education -- formal and nonformal schools -- walk together in the commune, there seems no way to guarantee that they keep in balance.

NOTES

CHAPTER II: The Commune as an Educational Instrument

[1] Barry M. Richman, Industrial Society in Communist China, 1969, pp. 568-9.

[2] Seymour Topping, "Rural China Revisited: Change and Continuity Mingle", The New York Times, May 30, 1971. Topping visited a middle school in a commune north of Peking and noted that inside the school little of the way in which the school had been operated showed any difference from that prior to the Cultural Revolution or even prior to the time when the Communists came into power. There were periodical examinations prepared and given by the teachers. The curriculum was composed of Chinese language and literature, mathematics, agricultural biology, music instrument and singing, politics and ideology, and finally a physical education period in an outdoor field where there were a basketball court and gymnastic parallel bars.

[3] The Official Report of the 6th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Peking, 1958. (in Chinese)

[4] Shu Shun, "Jen-min kung-she tsen-yang pan hsueh" (How the communes run their schools"),in Lun Jen-min kung-she (On people's commune). Peking: China Youth Publications, 1958, pp. 67-75.

III. USE OF MASS MEDIA FOR EDUCATION

Radio

Among the low-cost educational media used in China's rural areas for formal and nonformal education, radio broadcasting is used on a nationwide scale and its use is encouraged by the central government. Today, the government is continuing its efforts to achieve the goal that every household in every village have a radio, by which the whole country will be linked. Thus, a directive issued from Peking may be expected, with little delay, to reach every corner of the country.

The efforts made by the government, since its founding, to build up the radio network were no less than those for other national programs. In April 1950, for instance, the information department of the central government decided that every county and municipality in the country must establish at least one receiving station to receive broadcasts from the Central People's Broadcasting Station. One month later, 1,806 receiving stations were reported to have been established, and one and one-half years later, in 1952, the number was increased to 2,155, and there also were 12,859 receiving groups in the country.[1] Each of these groups was composed of students and in-service office workers. The purposes of these organizations were cadre education and thought reform. It was mandatory for the group to meet at a definite time and place to listen to the lectures broadcast from the Central People's Broadcasting Station. The lectures included "History of Social Development," "Political Economy," "Introduction to Science," "On Imperialism,"

and "Current Events." The audience listening to these lectures was reported to have numbered over 2,500,000.[2]

The establishment of receiving stations was evidently intended to facilitate the programs of production contest and party indoctrination. Each factory, school, mining field, and any other enterprise that could accommodate more than three hundred people was required to have a receiving station. The types of programs broadcast to this audience were records of production from different places, current events, and revolutionary stories and songs.

In the draft program for agricultural development in China,[3] made public in 1956, the radio programs planned for villages were extremely ambitious. In rural areas throughout the country, wherever conditions permitted, a local broadcasting station was to be built. This plan was expected to be implemented in a period of seven to twelve years. Consequently, the broadcasting stations in the country increased from 51 in 1950 to 577 in 1954 and 6,772 in 1958; and the number of loudspeakers, which were usually set up in the trees in the villages, was increased from 2,200 in 1950 to 47,500 in 1954 and 2,987,500 in 1958.[4] However, during the period of readjustment and consolidation after the "leap forward" campaign, the broadcasting stations and loudspeakers in remote areas were reported to have stopped functioning. Therefore the actual radio network shrank instead of being expanded.

On September 15, 1965, on the occasion of the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Yen-an Broadcasting Station, Mao Tse-tung

urged the nation to reconstruct the radio network in rural areas. The principles regarding the broadcasting system in rural areas in China were worked out by the central government: (1) each hsien (county) has one broadcasting station which is financed entirely by the central government; (2) each commune and production brigade may have its own broadcasting station, for which the commune or the brigade, according to its actual needs, can receive a certain amount of subsidy from the central government; (3) each household in the village can have a loudspeaker, for which an installment fee of four dollars is charged.[5] It was reported that the radio network has been established in most of the provinces. In Kiangsi, for instance, there are 660 commune broadcasting stations, and in Kiangsu, almost every household has a radio.

Besides being used as an instrument to carry out programs of ideological indoctrination and of agricultural skill training on a mass basis, and to stimulate the people to work harder and to produce more, radio broadcasts are also used as an educational medium to carry out the programs of "teaching-learning through air" in many places of the country.

Broadcast School

For instance, in Shanghai (both the metropolitan area and its suburbs), an experimental "broadcasting school" was established to provide education for primary school graduates unable to attend middle school and junior middle school graduates unable to attend senior middle school. In

the first year of the experiment, 1954, the enrollment of this school was reported to have been more than 10,000, and by 1957, the enrollment increased to 96,000. The curriculum of this school consisted of two parts: the courses offered by the regular junior and senior middle schools, and the basic skills and knowledge of agricultural and industrial production. Each broadcast course was supplemented by correspondence. Students were asked to organize themselves into small groups of fifteen to twenty members, and each group provided its own radio and meeting place to hold the class. A supervisor, paid by the students, was provided for each group to oversee the students when learning their lessons. Lessons were scheduled for two hours a day.

The length of schooling for the junior middle school was four years, and at the end of each semester there was an examination. One who passed all the examinations in four years was given a certificate attesting that he had had an education equivalent to that of a junior middle school. Students at the senior middle school level selected their courses. When a student had completed the courses and passed all the examinations, he was given a certificate confirming that he had had an education equivalent to that of a senior middle school. The school was sponsored by the city government, so it was free except that the students had to provide their own textbooks, radio, and the fee to pay their supervisor.[6]

As an extension of this experiment, which was considered rather successful, the Shanghai city government and the Shanghai People's Broadcasting Station, in 1956, jointly established a Shanghai Spare-time Cultural School for Workers and Peasants to serve the people within the city as well as in nearby rural areas. The school has one general director, one assistant-director in charge of academic affairs, four teachers, eight teaching assistants, one compiler, and two clerical workers; all are paid by the city government and have their offices in the broadcasting station.

The school was designed as a multipurpose institution. It is intended to provide education for in-service workers, peasants who previously had little education, nonworking housewives and youths who are not able to go to schools, retired people who want to have more new knowledge, and the in-service literacy education teachers who need more education. Courses offered by the school are in accordance with the regulations of the spare-time middle school for workers and peasants, promulgated by the City Education Department. A student who has completed all the courses offered by the school within a period of four years (not necessarily consecutively) is given a certificate confirming that he has had an education equivalent to that of a junior middle school.

Because of the potential difficulty for students in mastering their lessons and possible difficulties occurring in broadcasting, each teacher is required to use simple language and clear pronunciation of each word when he is giving his lessons. Broadcasting is supplemented by correspondence. When a lesson is broadcast, a small goup of students is always

invited to be present in the studio. They are encouraged to ask the teacher questions, and the teacher, in turn, asks them questions. Thus it makes the other listeners feel more as if they were at a real class, and they learn how to ask their own questions in the correspondence. In the correspondence, besides the context of the lessons, and answers and corrections which the teachers make in the students' homework, there are also learning experiences, criticism, and suggestions from other students.

The students -- factory workers, peasants, office workers, youths, and housewives -- are asked to organize themselves into small listening groups, and the group then provides its own radio and decides on a meeting place. If it can afford to do so, the group may hire someone to help members learn their lessons and to correct their homework. Otherwise, the members must depend on the teaching assistants from the school.

The supervision is conducted by the teaching assistants. Each teaching assistant is assigned to two districts to supervise the work of the students of the small listening groups. He usually borrows a classroom from the district school to explain the main points of the lessons taught through the broadcasts and answer the questions of the representatives sent by the groups. Then the representatives take the explanations as well as the answers back to the members of the groups. Sometimes the teaching assistant himself goes to a group, randomly selected, when its members are meeting at the listening place, to see how the group representative conveys the explanations and the answers to the members.

This school was reported to have been met with great enthusiasm from the people both in the city and in rural areas.[7] It seems indeed to be a relatively economical way to bring more educational opportunities to the little-schooled people in the city and in rural areas, especially in a country like China where more people need education but fewer schools and fewer teachers are available.

Movies

As television has not yet been made widely available in China, the audio-visual medium used for educational purposes is the movies. Under the auspices of the central government, a great number of youths have been organized into "movie-showing" teams. The members of each team, carrying the equipment on their backs, go into the remote areas to show the peasants films on modern techniques of farming and harvesting.[8] Because the teams have proved useful in enhancing the effectiveness of the radio network in teaching the peasants in the remote areas, their number increased rapidly. According to official statistics of the National Statistics Bureau, there were 1,110 such teams in 1952, and 8,384 teams in 1958. Most of the peasants in the remote areas had probably never had an idea of what a machine looks like and how it works on the farm. After being shown the picture through the movies, they were able to connect this visual experience with what they had heard on the radio about the advantages of farm machinery over human labor.

Pictures

Visual methods, even rudimentary ones, are also used in literacy and health education in rural areas. For literacy education, especially for the female members of the commune, the upper class students of primary schools are asked to take a number of flash cards, one side with a Chinese character and the other side with an illustrated picture, and to go to their homes or neighbors' homes after school hours to teach the illiterate female members in the house. The students charged with such duties were formerly called "little teachers," and now, Little Red Soldiers.

The same methods are used for rural health education. Though most of the people in China's rural areas are said to have become literate today, they appear helpless when dealing with printed or written matters. To make the rural people grasp the idea of improving their public sanitary conditions and individual health in the commune, the "barefoot doctors" -- students of various medical schools in cities who are sent to rural areas to serve the people -- pasted colorful posters on the walls in the villages which explain the causes of certain kinds of disease and the preventive measures which the people should take. It is reported that as a result of such efforts in public health education, the general condition or public health has improved tremendously in rural areas in China.

Correspondence Schools

Because of the scarcity of regular schools for those who need education, correspondence schools -- particularly those in the field of

vocational education, such as journalism, domestic science, bookkeeping, accounting, etc. -- are numerous in China. For the upgrading of in-service teachers of both primary and middle schools, a great number of correspondence teachers schools were established under government sponsorship. According to the statistics of 1956, 80 percent of the 1,830,000 primary school teachers had never received teacher training of any kind. Therefore, in the same year, all normal schools throughout the country were urged to start a correspondence division to help upgrade unqualified in-service teachers. By the end of the year, 920 correspondence divisions were reported to have been established with an enrollment of 450,000 in-service teachers.[9] For the unqualified in-service middle school teachers, there were 24 correspondence classes,with an enrollment of approximately 20,000 in-service teachers, offered by teachers colleges throughout the country.[10]

Despite impressive enrollment figures, the results at these early teachers correspondence schools were reportedly unsatisfactory. The perennial topic of discussion and argument among educators in the nation has remained whether to elevate teachers' general cultural level, or to improve their professional competence. Those in favor of elevating the teachers' general cultural level believe that the teachers were considered unqualified because they had too little general education background. If the correspondence schools, following a philosophy of utilitarianism for immediate practical purpose without long-term plan, offered only methodological courses, the schools would not help anyone because the teachers, lacking general education background, might not be able to grasp the meaning

of these courses. Those in favor of improving the teachers' professional competence think that the teachers were not qualified as teachers simply because they did not know how to teach in the classroom. If the correspondence schools offered courses concentrating on general education, in-service teachers would not find any way to improve their teaching methods, and their incompetence in teaching would persist.

The in-service teachers enrolled in the correspondence schools are divided into two factions: one wants to learn what is actually needed in their teaching; the other wants to take courses following a systematic sequence, by which, after a few years, they would have an education equivalent to that of a regular normal school.

There is no evidence in the recent available literature on Chinese education that these controversies have been resolved. However, the correspondence classes at teachers colleges are not reported to have so many problems, probably because the middle school teachers know better what they need, and there is more variety in the courses offered by the correspondence classes.

The answer to these problems may be found only when television is made available as an educational medium to improve the correspondence schools. On television, in-service teachers could watch lecture courses as well as teaching demonstrations performed by the teachers from the correspondence schools, enabling them to improve both their general cultural level and their professional competence.

NOTES

CHAPTER III. Use of Mass Media for Education

1. Kuomintang Central Reform Committee, Kung-fei te nu-yi wen-hua yu chiao-yu (The subjugating culture and education of the Chinese communists), Taipei, Taiwan: Chung-yang Wen-wu Kung-ying She, 1952, pp. 97-109.

2. Ibid.

3. The Draft Programme for Agricultural Development in the People's Republic of China. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1956 (in English).

4. National Statistics Bureau, Wei-ta te shih-nien (The ten great years). Peking: People's Publications, 1959, p. 184.

5. Su Tung-feng, "Development of the Chinese Communist One-channel Broadcasting in Rural Areas", Chinese Communist Affairs Monthly, Vol. 12, No. 4, June 1, 1969, Taipei, Taiwan, pp. 53-54. (in Chinese)

6. Shu Hsin-cheng, "Yi-ke pang-chu ch'u-chung kao-hsiao pi-yeh-sheng chi-hsu chiu-hsueh te chu-t'i fang-an" (A concrete plan for helping the primary and the junior middle school graduates to continue their education), Jen-min chiao-yu, No. 8, 1957, Peking, pp. 9-12.

7. Yang Pai-ho, "Shanghai kung-nung yeh-yu ch'u-chung wen-hua kuang-po hsueh-hsiao ching-k'uang chieh-shao" (Report on the Shanghai spare-time cultural braodcasting school for workers and peasants), Jen-min chiao-yu, No. 10, 1957, pp. 62-63.

8. A film titled China Report shows the details of the work of the "movie-showing teams," "little red soldiers," and "bare-foot doctors." This is not a commercial film. Information about this film may be obtained from the Association for Asian Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

9. Ts'ui Cheih-ping and Li Yi-pen, "Kuan-yu han-shou shih-fan ho chin-hsiu hsueh-hsiao te jen-wu ho k'o-cheng teng wen-t'i" (Problems concerning the aims and curriculum of the correspondence schools), Jen-min chiao-yu, No. 3, 1957, pp. 14-16.

10. Cheng Han-san, "T'an kao-shih han-shou chiao-yu kung-tso te chi-ke wen-t'i", (Problems about the correspondence education in teachers colleges), Jen-min chiao-yu, No. 7, 1957, pp. 34-36.

IV. LITERACY EDUCATION

Despite the efforts made by the government as well as the people, illiteracy persists in China as a formidable factor preventing the nation from becoming a modern one. Illiterates still constitute a large proportion of China's population.

Language Reform

The complexity of the written Chinese language must take the blame for much illiteracy. Many have tackled the problem of language reform, but to date no significant changes have been forthcoming. The following example may illustrate the language difficulties: the word meaning "one" is usually represented by a one-stroke character, while the character meaning "salt" usually has 25 strokes. But these characters may be written differently: the one-stroke character meaning "one" may also be written as a 12-stroke character; the 25-stroke character meaning "salt" may be simplified to 13 strokes. And someone who has learned a word written one way cannot necessarily read the same word written in another way. For this reason alone, the elimination of illiteracy in China will be extremely difficult.

Like the former Kuomintang government, the present government has made several attempts to simplify the language, but none of them has proved successful. In 1954, for instance, a Chinese Written Language Reform Committee, formed under the State Council, worked out a list of 500 simplified characters. While such simplified characters may

be helpful for those who are beginning to learn the language, they make those who can already read Chinese in the unsimplified form semiliterate when they read anything written in the combination of simplified and unsimplified words. An attempt was also made to romanize the Chinese writing system so that Chinese words could be written phonetically in the alphabet. However, because of the great number of dialects in China, the language when written phonetically becomes many different languages. The written Chinese words, on the other hand, have the advantage of serving all dialects and enable people with different dialects to communicate with each other.

The achievement of nationwide literacy probably depends on ensuring universal and compulsory primary education. This does not mean that China should not have special programs for literacy education; one the contrary, these are greatly needed today. We review below some of the many efforts to achieve literacy.

Early Efforts at Literacy Education in Rural Areas

Literacy education was initiated in the 1920s by Sun Yat-sen as part of his revolutionary program. In the first three years under the present government, programs of literacy education were implemented in each locality in its own way. Most of these programs were in spare-time schools or classes. According to official statistics, in 1949

the number of illiterates who became literates was 657,000; in 1950, 1,372,000; in 1951, 1;375,000; and in 1952, 656,000.[1] It was reported that the involvement in the Korean War brought the figure to a new low, primarily because of the absence of soldiers who had been used as literacy teachers. (See Chapter V)

Definition of Literacy and Goals of Literacy Programs

In September 1952, a symposium of the nation's experts in adult education was held in Peking to exchange ideas on how to go about "sweeping illiteracy" (in Chinese, literacy education is generally known as "to sweep clean illiteracy")in a quicker and more effective way. The participants agreed on the following points:

First, a literate was defined as one who can read 2,000 of the most frequently used words and a few popular books and simple newspapers, and who can also write a short composition of two to three hundred words.

Second, an order of priority was set: In two years, the illiteracy of worker-peasant cadres in various organizations and offices was to be "swept up"; in three to four years, the illiteracy of the workers; in six to seven years, the illiteracy of the peasants and rural craftsmen; and in ten years, there should be no illiteracy anywhere in the country.

Third, a target figure was chosen: each year 3,000,000 illiterates were to be made literate.

In November of the same year, the Central Committee for Literacy Education was established in Peking, and each level of government throughout the country was urged to form a committee. The purpose was to establish a nationwide joint force to eliminate illiteracy. Official statistics indicate these efforts were apparently successful: the number of illiterates reported to have become literate in 1953 was 2,954,000; in 1954, 2,637,000; in 1955, 3,678,000.[2]

Even greater success in literacy education was reported in the two years after 1956. On March 29, 1956, the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council jointly issued an official statement of their decision concerning the programs of "sweeping illiteracy" in the country. The statement reiterated, with some modification, the principles worked out by the participants of the symposium in 1952:

First, in five to seven years, the illiteracy of workers and the peasants was to be eliminated; in two to three years, the illiteracy of the cadres in various offices; in three to five years, those in factories and other enterprises; and in five to seven years, the rest of the residents, from ages 14 to 50, in cities as well as in villages.

Second, in making a literacy program, the following was to be taken into account: (1) actual conditions; (2) learning for practical use; (3) literates were to teach illiterates on a voluntary, not compulsory,basis; and (4) each illiterate was to learn at least 1,500 commonly used words.

Third, under the Committee for Literacy Education, working teams are subdivided into small groups to carry on the literacy programs. All expenses were to be paid by the central government.

Fourth, the procedures to be followed were: (1) to call people's attention to the seriousness of illiteracy; (2) to investigate the cultural level of the rural cadres; (3) to set up short-term classes to train teachers for literacy education; and (4) to mobilize middle school and primary school students in the villages to join in the work.

Fifth, methods: (1) classes were to be organized in the following ways: those who know from no word to less than 300 words were to be placed in the beginners class; those who know 300 to 400 words, in the lower class; those who know 400 to 700 words, in the intermediate class; and those who know more than 700 words, in the advanced class. Members of the Youth Corps were asked to be tutors for those who could not be placed in any of these classes, and the system of "little teachers" -- student teaches student -- was to be encouraged.

Sixth, teaching materials were to include the names of local people and places and commonly used tools, and stories of local events. Elementary arithmetic and knowledge of natural sciences needed for agriculture were to be added. Textbooks were to be distributed free by the provincial government. The length of schooling was to be sixteen months, the class meeting two hours at least once a day.[3]

This program was reported to have resulted in 7,434,000 new literates in 1956; 7,208,000, in 1957. And the "great leap" in 1958 brought about a peak of 40,000,000 (this figure possibly represents the number of people who attended literacy classes in that year).[4]

People's Initiatives vs. Government Prescription

The impressive figure of 40 million would indicate that rural people were enthusiastic about programs that they themselves initiated in the communes, and that solutions to problems in rural areas can be best met by the people's initiatives. There is evidence that the government literacy programs, which were characterized by uniformity, failed to appeal to the rural people. For instance, in the province of Heilungchiang in northeastern China (an industrial area with a population of approximately fifteen million) a literacy education program had begun in 1948, before the present government was officially founded, in spare-time and winter schools. In five years the total enrollment in the schools reached 1,200,000. When the government took over the literacy programs in 1952, schools and classes were systematically set up, and textbooks and time schedules fell under the regulations which had been set arbitrarily by government authorities. By the order of the Ministry of Education, an amateur method called "rapid-fire method of learning Chinese characters" was introduced. Illiterate adults were greatly discouraged by these changes, and attendance in

the literacy class therefore decreased. By 1955, in a period of more than three years, the total enrollment in these schools and classes had declined to a little over half a million. The number of frequent attendants was only around 300,000.

This is not a unique example of the unfitness of the government literacy programs for diverse local conditions. For example, in Yangyi Commune, not far from Peking in Hopei Province, illiterates often found that after struggling through the textbooks prepared by the government, they still could not register their work-points. This was not because many words were needed to do so, but because the words they needed did not appear in the texts. The books included names of people, fields, and geographical features, but the words were not those most commonly used in the Chinese language as a whole. It is probably impossible to prepare a textbook containing words useful everywhere in China. The solution to this problem was finally found: each area worked out its own list of two to three hundred words, made up of the names of local people and places and of the different types of farmwork, implements, and crops. After mastering this list, students could go on to the national textbooks.[5]

After these setbacks, the government began to relax its control over the programs of literacy education. In Heilungchiang, following the high expectations of the socialist reform movement, the work of "sweeping illiteracy" reach a new peak: 2,010,000 illiterates were enrolled in various classes in 1956. In 1958 the figure rose to 2,300,000.

Teachers, students, administrators of the regular schools, and the local literates -- altogether about 3,000,000, formed a volunteer teaching force of literacy education. The situation was almost that of one teacher teaching one student.[6] Heilungchiang thereby became a province with the most advantageous conditions for cultural and technical revolution.

To solidify the reading and writing abilities of the new literates, Tailai County of this province launched a movement to "read a hundred books and practice writing ten thousand words." Each commune and brigade in the county established a library and mobile library to send books to each house and each new literate. Included were new books bought from a fund donated by individual members of the commune, used books contributed by local schools, and publications specially compiled by different departments of the county government, such as agriculture, forestry, irrigation, public health, culture and education, and commerce. All of these publications were written in simple language (sometimes in the style of nursery rhymes) and contained only materials that were indigenous and relevant to the people's daily life. Consequently, they became very popular.

Methods to Encourage Literacy

It was discovered that some people in the commune borrowed books from the library but did not seriously read them, or only looked at

the pictures. Therefore, the commune began to sponsor the following activities to encourage members to use the libraries more seriously:

1. Reading Contest. It began with a small group, gradually extended to a brigade, and finally to a commune.

2. Public speech contest. Each contestant has to go to the library to prepare his speech. Contests are held in each brigade and judged by the teachers of the literacy class. Each contestant is allowed five to ten minutes for his speech.

3. Social meetings. On these occasions, short plays and folk songs are usually performed.

4. Discussions. Attendants are encouraged to exchange experience on their readings and to discuss the report of new productive skills published in the local nespapers.

5. Exhibitions. Notebooks, short compositions, hand-written wall newspapers, and statistics relating to the literacy classes in the brigade are exhibited. Sometimes improved farming tools are displayed, made by members who have finished reading their agricultural books.

All these activities were reported to have been very useful in encouraging the members to read more and in giving them confidence in the farm work.[7]

Summary of Experience in Literacy Programs

The experiences in literacy education in different localities, as presented by the articles in Jen-min Chiao-yu from 1952-58, may be summarized as follows:

First, the old small-scale farming required no literacy. Collective farming in the commune, however, requires the peasants to know how to register their work-points, which determines their payment, and to read the figures on their paychecks. In their preoccupation with earning work-points, the peasants are reluctant to shorten their working time in order to learn a few words which seem of no immediate use to them. To solve this conflict, persuasion is necessary to get them to change their thoughts and motivations.

Second, in carrying out literacy programs, the initiatives of the masses prove to be much more important than government directives and decisions. Experts and scholars are needed behind the scene as advisors, but not on the work front to encounter the masses, because there is always a gap in understanding between the masses and scholar-officials and it is hard for them to work together.

Third, learning from reality and for immediate use can maintain the peasants' interest. Otherwise, materials are too difficult to memorize, and too easy to forget, even when they have been memorized.

Fourth, to elevate the cultural level of its members, the commune should be made into a learning environment. For instance, if everything and every place were marked with its name, such as the names of different trees, streets, farming tools, and so on, illiterates in the area would gradually come to know the words.

Fifth, because it takes a long time to learn 2,000 written words of the Chinese language, time to digest and to practice should also be

provided. The "rapid-fire" and "duck-stuffing" approaches are not desirable.

Sixth, formal organization and rigid schedules have proved undesirable. A production team would be a good school for literacy education. Within the team, those who know can teach those who do not, and teaching-learning activities can take place anywhere and anytime. By so doing, learning does not interrupt one's productive work.

These lessons in effective literacy education have not been embraced everywhere, however. The New York Times on April 18, 1971 reported that Yunan Province in southern China has introduced a crash reading course for illiterate workers and peasants to enable them to study Mao's writings by learning about 600 words used most frequently in three of Mao's works, the so-called three old articles.* It was reported that by spending 200 to 300 hours of their spare time over a period of six months, illiterate workers and peasants would be able to read and understand Mao's quotations. Since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1966, almost everyone is required to read Mao's small "red-book" or at least to have a copy on hand. The results of the new combination of literacy education with politics have yet to be seen.

Incidentally, the same report in The New York Times quoted an article which appeared in Hung-ch'i (Red-flag) of last year. The article reported that most of the peasants in Kansu Province, in northwestern China, were illiterate or semi-illiterate and unable to read Mao's works well. Party officials were struggling for the elimination of illiteracy in the area.

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*See p. 96, Note 3.

On the basis of these news items, it appears that illiteracy still remains a problem throughout China, although Seymour Topping reported (in The New York Times of June 26, 1971) that illiteracy has been wiped out among the new generation.

NOTES

CHAPTER IV. Literacy Education

1. National Statistics Bureau, Wei-ta te shih-nien (The ten great years). Peking: People's Publications, 1959, p. 176.

2. Ibid., p. 2

3. Kung-fei tui-hsing sao-meng kung-tso (The campaign of "sweeping illiteracy" by the Chinese Communists). Taipei, Taiwan: The Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of Justice, 1965.

4. Wei-ta shih-nien (The ten great years), op. cit., p. 2

5. Isabel and David Crook, The First Year of Yangyi Commune. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966, p. 178.

6. Liang Chih-Chiao, "Heilungchiang-sheng wen-cheng chi'i-pen sao-cu'u wen-mang te ch'u-pu ti-hui" (Experience in accomplishing the basic task of "sweeping illiteracy" in Heilungchiang Province), Jen-min chiao-yu, No. 8, 1958, pp. 10-12.

7. Ibid., pp. 12-13, 33.

V. ROLE OF THE ARMY IN EDUCATION

Somewhat paradoxically, the Chinese leaders have in recent years recurrently called upon the people to prepare for war and famine, while the regular army, the People's Liberation Army, is engaged in various civilian activities. Many soldiers of the People's Liberation Army have been assigned to work as a kind of "peace corps" rather than as combat troops, and the education of civilians is one area they have invaded.

Soldiers as Literacy Educators

Literacy education constitutes an important part of the primary stage of the military training of the soldiers themselves, as they may be illiterates when first recruited. But within a certain period of time after enlistment, the new soldiers must be able to read and write a certain number of Chinese characters. The People's Liberation Army as a whole is in this respect an experimental school of literacy education. Both People's Daily and the journal People's Education have reported on the programs of literacy education in the army,* and have noted, for example, the selection of a learning "hero" who had mastered 2,000 characters in seven months, and new methods such as "tutor-teaching" and guaranteed-learning."[1]

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* Among the new methods created by the army, the "quick-method of learning characters" was the most popular. It was created by a cultural cadre named Ch'i Chien-hua in the southwestern military region. The method was to use phonological approach combined with morphological analysis of Chinese characters to teach the illiterate

Because of their intensive programs of literacy education, soldiers, both the educators and the students in the literacy programs, are all experienced in literacy training one way or the other. So in each of the thirteen military regions throughout the country, soldiers are usually assigned to teach the illiterate masses as part of their routine after daily military exercises. They believe that after the masses have been politically liberated, they must be liberated from illiteracy.

Soldiers as a Production and Re-education Force

The army is supposed to be a production or work force to serve the people in peacetime. In 1954, the army in Sinkiang Military Region established a Production and Reconstruction Corps. The programs to be carried out by the corps included agriculture, forestry, animal sciences, and others required for the development of the area, one of the sparsely populated provinces in China. Most of the members in the corps, in addition to the rest of the soldiers and the local people, are those who, following the government plan to reduce the density of population in the eastern coastal areas, have migrated to Sinkiang from the coastal areas.

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soldiers. Ch'i himself was no expert of linguistics and his method was amateur. However, in the region in which he was stationed, 87 experimental literacy classes were reported to have been operated, and more than 12,000 workers and peasants received literacy education through this method.[2] No report of the result of the experiment is available. Nevertheless, the creator of the "quick-method of learning chracters" was given an award by the Ministry of Education, and the method was encouraged for adoption by workers in literacy education elsewhere. However, in 1952, this method failed to receive any enthusiasm when it was introduced into Manchuria by the State Council. After failing a few serious professional tests, it finally died out.

Of the migrants, the city school students and the older intellectuals constitute a large proportion. The programs of the re-education of the students and the older intellectuals, and of literacy education in the area (which is under the jurisdiction of the corps), were carried out either directly by the soldiers or under their leadership.

More recently, the Inner Mongolia Production and Reconstruction Corps was established (in May 1969), under the auspices of the Peking Military Region. Members of this corps include veterans, in-service soldiers who have been weeded out of the regular army under the new policy of "better soldiers, simpler administration," and educated youths, most of whom were Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution. On September 11, 1969, the Inner Mongolia Broadcasting Station announced that more than 4,000 youths from Peking and Tientsin, and more than 5,000 from Manchuria, had joined the corps. On March 6, 1969, the Chekiang Broadcasting Station announced that 18,000 youths from Chekiang Province, and more than 1,000 from Shanghai city had departed for north to join the Inner Mongolia Production and Reconstruction Corps.

The purpose of recruiting educated youths was, reportedly, to give them an opportunity to receive re-education from soldiers of the People's Liberation Army. These youths, who were Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution, were considered too unruly to be assigned to any production work or to go back to school. Thus they were put under the control of the well-disciplined soldiers, to be trained by their "three-disciplines" and "eight points for close attention.[3] An editorial

appearing in The Inner Mongolia Daily of May 8, 1969, hailed the establishment of the corps as an important movement with the following significance: (1) the youths will become new Communist men through reeducation by the People's Liberation Army, with programs of revolution, production, and scientific research; (2) antirevisionism and anti-imperialism require a sound ideological frontier; (3) it will turn these youths into farmer-soldiers and soldier-farmers, and when young people and army mingle, they will make new records in production and reconstruction; and (4) the corps will be very useful in developing and reconstructing the frontiers.

The Army as a Model for Restructured Schools

In order to bring the Red Guards under control and to help schools to return to normal in the wake of the Cultural Revolution, on March 7, 1968, a directive from Mao Tse-tung (later known as the "March 7 directive)[4] was published in the People's Daily to urge the army as well as the school authorities to give the students military training and to operate the school in the same way in which the army is organized. Thereafter, a great number of schools throughout the country began their programs of "military training" and "military management."[5] In Canton, for instance, a May-7 middle school was organized according to the requirements for military training and military management. The students in this school were organized into groups, platoons, and companies to receive their military training. (Broadcasting news, Kwantung

Broadcasting Station, October 27, 1968). In Shanghai, the China Middle School and the Hsiang-shan Primary School were merged into a "China May-7 School." Students were organized into three battalions, and their classes were conducted in forms of company and platoon.[6] In Peking, the No. 23 Middle School, in order to carry out their programs of "learning from People's Liberation Army," completely abolished the traditional system of classes, and students were organized into the system of a military unit. Classes and extra-curricular activities were all conducted in the military fashion.[7]

In July 1969, following the entrance of the worker-peasant propaganda team into Tsing-hua University in Peking, schools at every level, in cities and in communes, formal or nonformal, were virtually taken over by the People's Liberation Army. Administration of each school, in the name of "three-in-one alliance" leadership, is under the control of soldiers and party cadres, and soldiers along with workers and peasants replaced the teachers of bourgeois origin.

NOTES

CHAPTLR V. Role of the Army in Education

1. For detail, see Jen-min chiao-yu (People's education), No. 5, 1950, Peking, pp. 53-57.

2. For detail, see Jen-min chiao-yu (People's education), No. 2, 1952. pp. 44-46.

3. The "three disciplines" and "eight points for close attention" were well known among the Chinese people long before the Communist victory in 1949.
The "three disciplines" are:

(1) Obey orders under all circumstances.
(2) Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the people.
(3) Hand in all enemy booty to the government.

The eight points are:

(1) Replace all doors (used as beds) when you leave the house.
(2) Return or roll up the straw matting on which you slept.
(3) Be courteous and polite to the people and help them whenever you can.
(4) Return all borrowed articles and replace all damaged goods.
(5) Be honest in all transactions with the peasants.
(6) Do not damage crops.
(7) Do not beat or scold the people.
(8) Do not behave unseemly with women.

4. It was said that this directive was made on March 7, 1967, and was addressed to Chou En-lai and Lin Piao. It reads: "The army should plan to give military training at different times to the students in college, middle schools and the upper classes of primary schools; to help to re-open and to re-organize schools by taking part in the "three-in-one" alliance leadership; and to help to carry out the tasks of "struggle-criticism-transformation" within the school. Take a few schools for experiment first. When experience in these matters has been adequately obtained, then extension service can be gradually carried out to other schools. Moreover, try to teach the students the Marxian doctrine that the proletariats can not be liberated until and unless humankind as a whole is completely liberated. During the period of military training, do not discriminate those teachers and cadres who committed ideological mistakes in the past, and encourage them to take part in the military training, so that they can make improvements."

NOTES (Continued)

CHAPTER V. (Continued)

5. In 1967, the army was assigned the so-called "two militaries"--military training and military management (for students and their schools); and the "three assistants" -- to assist peasants, to assist factory workers, and to assist revolutionaries (revolutionary students).

6. New China News, November 8, 1968.

7. New China News, December 7, 1968.

VI. TRAINING OF ADMINISTRATORS AND MANAGERS OF SMALL INDUSTRIES AND COMMUNES

People's University of China in Peking has the responsibility for training personnel in administration and management of small industries as well as the numerous communes. A new institution of higher learning, People's University is a center for training party cadres rather than an academic institution. It is a comprehensive university in the sense that it is a consolidated body which absorbed all the universities and colleges established in the "liberated areas" before the founding of the present government in 1949. For a better understanding of the system of training cadres in every field and at every level throughout the country, one must know more about this special university.

The People's University of China was officially founded on October 3, 1950, based on a resolution passed by the State Council on December 16, 1949. The purposes of the university were: (1) to prepare teachers to teach the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism; (2) to train advanced cadres in the fields of economy and finance and other social sciences; and (3) to train directors for various industries. The university was also responsible for

re-educating "bourgeois intellectuals" and training model workers and model farmers.

As of 1967, the university comprised 18 departments, 15 specialized classes, 15 research institutes, one correspondence college (which offers 18 different fields of study), one evening session of the studies of Marxism-Leninism, and one university school. Not counting the students of the correspondence college and the university school, more than 10,000 students and 1,000 professors and teachers are on the campus every day.

The student body of the university is made up of in-service workers in various fields. Students in most departments and classes are predominantly from cadres with a record of participation in revolutionary activities for five years, and productive workers who have been working in the field for three years. All these cadres and workers must have a previous education equivalent to that of a junior middle school.

Students in the university are generally grouped in such a way that those who are comparatively advanced in cultural level and in age are encouraged to enroll in the specialized classes; youths with an education equivalent to that of a junior middle school are allowed to enroll in a department (except the departments of Russian language and foreign affairs, which require that students who apply for admission to the department must have

completed their senior middle school education and must also pass the entrance examination given by the university); those who are comparatively low in cultural level and also in age are admitted to the university school. For those with little education, or who are low in age or health, preparatory classes are provided. Students in research institutes are mostly the in-service high level cadres, veterans, young intellectuals, and teachers from other universities and colleges.

The faculty of People's University is composed of experts of Marxism-Leninism, old party cadres, and visiting and part-time professors invited from other institutions of higher learning. Most of the new faculty members are selected from among the graduates of the different departments and research institutes of the university.

The length of schooling was originally five years for students in each department (since 1967, it is a four-year program); two to three years for research students; and one year and two months for students in the correspondence college.

The correspondence college has recently received special emphasis in order to elevate the cultural level and professional competence of in-service cadres in various fields and the rural adults with some education. The correspondence college offers the following fields of study : cooperatives, people's economic

planning, reconstructional economics, industrial economy, industrial statistics, industrial accounting, factory management, trade, economics, banking, general statistics, international trading, planning, philosophy, law, finance, commercial statistics, supply and consuming. All students in the college must have 360 working hours in one semester: political courses must constitute 39 percent and professional courses 61 percent of their studies. Branches of the correspondence college have been established throughout the country.

As a political university, People's University is understandably a pioneer in experimenting with every new educational policy in China. For example, in 1958, when the slogan "education must be in the service of proletarian politics, and education must combine with production" was made national educational policy, this university was reported to be the first to establish factories, farms, and shops. In 1964, when the government encouraged and sometimes forced teachers and students in the city schools to go to the countryside to gain manual working experience, students of People's University were the first to announce that their schedule would become half-study and half-work.

In the true sense, this university is the leadership headquarters for the Chinese Communists. Graduates are assigned to different posts in almost every field (except military affairs),

particularly those of planning, administration, and management in government and in the communes. Unfortunately, recent statistics are unavailable; nevertheless, in 1959, the university produced 2,434 experts of Marxism-Leninism, who were assigned to more than 200 colleges to teach Marxism-Leninism. In 1961, 1,238 experts in finance, economy and law, and more than 9,000 correspondence students were assigned to various posts in their fields.[1]

NOTE: 1. Wang Chun, "Wei Chung-kuo jen-min ta-hsueh t'ao-cha" (Report on People's University of China), Fei-ching yen-chiu (Studies on Chinese Communism), Vol. I, No. 10, October 1967, Taipei, Taiwan, pp. 58-74.

VII. TRAINING IN NONFARM SKILLS

The nonagricultural occupations in China's rural areas, besides management and administrative positions in the rural factories and communes, are mainly in traditional crafts and modern small industries. Much of the training of workers for traditional crafts, such as ceramics, carpentry, smithery, and carving still depends upon a system of apprenticeship -- senior workers teach the newcomers. Factories, however, are no longer privately owned but belong to the commune.

Training in Crafts

In The New York Times of May 17, 1971, there were two articles regarding Chinese crafts which may help illuminate crafts training in China generally. One described a crafts factory in Peking, the other described the kilns near Canton.

The Peking factory produces lacquerware of all kinds, cloissoné, carving in jade, quartz, soapstone, and other stones, ivory carvings, inlaid screens and chests, and painted furniture. The 820 workers, of whom a third are women, are organized into cooperatives. They now use electricity instead of coal in the

factory; as a consequence, the work is easier, and the production is higher. The monthly wages of the workers range from 30 yuan (U.S. $13.27) to 100 yuan (U.S. $44.24), according to the age and skill of the worker. A woman who has worked in the factory as an ivory carver for more than ten years began as a paid apprentice and now earns 40 yuan a month. An old male worker who had done ivory carving in this factory since 1938 supervises some apprentices and now makes 100 yuan a month and has job security.

Work in the kilns near Canton has been marked by rapid changes. The workers are said to serve the cause of Communist revolution by making utilitarian dishes for peasant households, instead of the highly refined procelain once made to please the "bourgeois gentry-elites." Of the renowned Shekwan kilns at Foshan, 20 miles from Canton, for instance, only one continues to produce the crackle glaze porcelain with traditional designs for export. All the other previously famous art pottery factories now make dishes, big earthen jars, and statuettes of heroic Communist figures. A system of apprenticeship -- the senior workers teach the newcomers -- is in practice here also, and all workers are supervised by the chairman of the revolutionary committee of the Shekwan art potters factory.

Notwithstanding the modification of the designs and the

organization of the crafts factory workers, the apprenticeship system for training new workers in various kinds of crafts remains unchanged. The persistence of apprenticeship in traditional Chinese trades probably results from the lack of systematic and scientific devices or methods for teaching rural or urban crafts. Even the techniques of the traditional Chinese medical practice are still handed down through apprenticeship. For instance, in James Reston's report of his experience of undergoing an appendectomy in Peking (in The New York Times of July 26, 1971), he wrote that he had received acupuncture treatment, which is one of China's age-old traditional medical treatments. The doctor who performed the acupuncture is 36 years old and learned acupuncture as an apprentice to a veteran acupuncturist at the hospital. The hospital to which Mr. Reston was admitted is the most modern and best equipped in China. Formerly known as Peking Union Medical College, it was established in 1916 by the Rockefeller Foundation. Thousands of young men are said to receive training now as apprentices in the field of acupuncture. There seems to be no scientific way to teach acupuncture; each apprentice is required to practice for years on his own body.

Training for Agriculture-related Industries

Small industries are designed to "serve the needs of agricultural production and the proletariats" by producing farm

implements, fertilizers, and rural transport equipment and by repairing tools and making everyday consumer goods, including food. Skilled workers in small industries acquire their skills either through apprenticeship or through the nonformal training of "learning by doing" on the spot. However, the training of technicians in small industries is a function mainly of the formal schools. An increase of institutions to train technicians for the mushrooming small industries is predictable.

The training centers for technicians in small industries are the specialized vocational schools financed by different provincial governments. The curricula include agricultural machine-making and tool-repairing, food processing, textile engineering, geological survey, transportation, agriculture and forestry, production of chemicals, and paper-making. Though recent figures on the number of these schools are unavailable, in 1959 it was reported there were 94 scattered over the country.[1]

In addition, in the ten years from 1958 to 1968, 10,800 agricultural technicians were reported to have graduated from agricultural colleges and colleges of agricultural mechanics. Obviously, this number is far from enough to meet the rural needs for more advanced technicians for small industries. Therefore, agricultural colleges were recently encouraged to start specialized classes to admit rural youths and adults. Reportedly, 30

different kinds of such classes have been established. The curricula include agriculture, agricultural microbes, fruit trees and vegetable cultivation, protection of plants, disease and insect control, soil and agricultural chemistry, soil and fertilizer, gardening, sericulture, tea, agricultural meteorology, agricultural economy and organization, consolidation of land, marine production, animal husbandry; processing of dairy produce, veterinary science, irrigation, improvement of soil, tractors; mechanization of planting and harvesting methods, metallurgy, metallography, radio, electrification of agriculture, design and manufacture of agricultural implements, administration and management, forestry, and transportation in rural areas.[2] Teachers for these specialized classes are the regular professors of the agricultural colleges, with which the classes are affiliated, and experienced peasants. Scientific research and experiments are emphasized in their teaching and learning activities.

NOTES

CHAPTER VII. TRAINING IN NONFARM SKILLS

1. Source: Yuan Chun-chao, Kung-fei chung-teng chiao-yu te p'i-p'an (Critiques on Chinese Communist secondary education). Taipei, Taiwan: Central Cultural Publication Clearinghouse, 1959, pp. 74-75.

2. Wang Chun, "Chung-kung tui nung-yeh yuan-hsiao te kai-ke" (Reform of Chinese Communist agricultural colleges and schools), Chung-kung yen-chiu (Studies on Chinese Communism), Vol. 4, No. 10, October 1970. Taiwan, pp. 100-102.

VIII. TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR URBAN YOUTHS

We have seen that in the rural communes, the educational activities of young people, both at the primary and secondary level, are geared to the twin goals of study and productive activity, whether it be teaching illiterates, farming, or other constructive community activities. Similarly, city youth are exposed to after-school programs which are designed both to strengthen their political consciousness and to enable them to render social service to the community.

We should note at the outset the premises for these programs: it is believed that the out-of-school activities of students are potentially harmful to the cause of the proletarian revolution if they are not carefully scrutinized and correctly directed.[1] For this reason, organized out-of-school training is part of a "three-in-one alliance" of school, home, and society, which is to discipline youngsters when they are not in school. Parents, especially, are expected to set examples for their children in their off-duty activities, such as reading and recreation.

Organized out-of-school training efforts are at two levels. For those who are 8 to 14 years of age, there are groups of Little Red Soldiers;[2] for older students, there are "out-of-school learning classes," which are designed to let students either

educate the people or receive education from the people outside their schools.

For each unit of these out-of-school organizations, there is an advisory committee, which is composed of schoolteachers, parents, retired teachers, activists among the local intellectuals, experienced workers, policemen, and veterans. Factories, bookshops, public libraries and firms are all urged to support these programs by providing necessary facilities in the forms of youth palace, youth home, children's reading room, and the like. Such facilities are expected to be linked together as a network and finally turned into "a school out of school."

Little Red Soldiers

The Little Red Soldiers learn the techniques of putting out fire, life-saving, and protecting public property, and are also urged to do light work on farms and in factories After the training hours, they are usually assigned to take part in the following activities:

1. To lead the adults in the community to study Mao's "Old Three Articles."
2. To organize other children in the community and to teach them children's songs and tell them revolutionary stories.
3. To learn to make model airplanes and ships, and to make radios and other kinds of toys.
4. To help sweep courtyards in people's housing and sometimes to baby-sit for the mothers in these houses.
5. To criticize the old traditions in their own homes.[3]

It was reported that there was once a little Red Soldier who

wanted to go out to the fields to help the peasants working there, but his mother did not agree with his plan and did not want him to go. The youngster then asked his mother to sit down with him and to read the "Old Three Articles" together so that his mother would better understand the meaning of the article "To Serve the People." His mother finally changed her mind.

Reportedly, in Peking one can often hear the talking of the "evening family assembly" held in the courtyards. In the assembly, the youngsters often try to teach their elders by explaining what has been going on outside the house. It is believed that out-of-school education thus gives young people a sense of responsibility and seriousness; they feel duty-bound to see that the older people, including their own parents, catch up with the pace as well as the process of national transformation.

In addition, physical exercise in the form of a kind of "toughening up march" is a part of the routine training for youngsters, and Little Red Soldiers are required to take part in the march. Many foreign visitors to China were surprised when they saw long lines of children marching on the streets or in the countryside with packs on their backs. (There are several photographs of the children marching in the April 30, 1971, issue of Life magazine.)

Out-of-School Learning Class

Members of the "out-of-school learning class," who are older students, are considered more mature and experienced, so they are given less training and more work. Generally they are assigned to take part in the following activities as part of their out-of-school service:

1. Creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Mao's thought is esteemed as "the science of the proletarian revolution, it is proletarian truth which has stood the test of prolonged revolutionary struggles. It is the unified program of action for the whole party the whole army and the people of the country."[4] To study and apply Mao's thought in a creative way is believed to enable the youth to transform all sorts of nonproletarian ideas in their minds, raise their ideological and political level, and perform meritorious deeds for the people. So students are urged to learn Mao's thought not only inside but also outside the school and to apply it to each case as they see fit.

2. Participation in revolutionary mass criticism. After school, students are encouraged to criticize the capitalistic ideology prevailing outside the school and to join with workers and veterans to criticize the movies, books, and magazines which are considered poisonous and harmful to the cause of proletarian revolution, and to hold mass criticism meetings on the street to criticize old ideas, old culture, old customs and habits, which exist in the society.

3. Participation in social service. To sweep the streets and to help the veterans' families and old people to clean their courtyards and to carry water from the wells to their kitchens. Sometimes students also go to nearby farms to help the peasants working on the farms.

4. Recreation activities. The out-of-school learning classes sometimes jointly organize drama, dance, and singing groups. On holidays and weekends they go to factories and communes to give performances.

5. To carry out rectification campaigns in the community, holding public meetings at street corners to ask the participants to make mutual criticism and self-criticism.

6. Social survey in the locality where the school is situated.[5]

The programs of out-of-school education have been carried out on a mass, nationwide scale. In one section of Peking, for instance, more than 70 schools were reported to have "out-of-school learning classes;"[6] in Kirin Province in northeastern China, in the small city of Cheng-chia-t'un, there are 1,280 such classes;[7] in Ninghsia Province in northwestern China, in the Red Guard Middle School there are more than 60 such classes;[8] in Hupei Province in central China, in the city of Hsiang-fan, in 34 schools, 3,400 such classes have been organized.

The programs are considered so important that some schools are reported planning to make out-of-school education an integral part of their school programs. A half-half system is scheduled for adoption: students will be required to stay in school a half-day for study and a half-day for the out-of-school education.[9]

The significance of this program is political and ideological. One has the impression that the program not only keeps the city students in the line of proletarian revolution, but also, by using the students as agents, reminds the city people at large to check their ideological line daily. The reaction of students to these programs is evidently mixed. The Little Red Soldiers are reportedly

generally very enthusiastic and active, but older students have felt that their spare time should be occupied by activities initiated by themselves and that the programs of out-of-school education take too much of their time. However, students who raise these objections are often criticized as being misled by the thoughts of revisionists. Their complaints are regarded as a sign of the lack of proletarian political consciousness, and they are therefore taken as justifications of the necessity of the out-of-school education.

Relocation of Teen-agers

Today, China's youth population in rural areas has two components: local youth and teen-agers from the cities, who, under the government program of compulsory migration, have settled down in rural communities. The movement of city youth to the countryside had its beginnings in the Fifties, and is briefly retraced below.

We must remember that the technical training for various kinds of rural work for local teen-agers, including in-school students, dropouts, and the unschooled, was formerly always in the form of apprenticeship. All teen-agers could be employed in one way or another in rural areas, notwithstanding that a large proportion of China's rural population always experienced "disguised unemployment" before the movement of land reform, which was encouraged by the Communists after they came to power in 1949.

But serious problems were created by out-of-school teen-agers in the cities. Before 1955, cities in China, like those in many other developing nations, had great numbers of youths who were out of school and unemployed. Many of these young people had migrated from rural areas to the city, seeking a better education or factory employment, but the limited number of schools and factories in the city could not meet the needs of these immigrants. Consequently, the city became burdened with problems of unemployment.

As the Chinese Communists were anxious to transform their country into a modern and industrial nation, they could not afford to overlook such a wastage of human resources in the cities. In 1952, the State Council worked out a plan for full employment of the people in China, particularly the schooled ones, to try to channel surplus manpower in the city into rural areas. In 1953, for example, municipal authorities were asked to register the unemployed in each city, and also simultaneously to try to stop the influx of people from rural areas into the city.[10]

In 1954, the People's Liberation Army established a Production and Reconstruction Corps in the Sinkiang Military Region to absorb many of the out-of-school teen-agers from the cities.[11] And in 1955, the Chinese government started a movement of sending unemployed teen-agers from the cities "up to the mountains and down to the countryside."

Most of these city-schooled people, after a short period of training in agricultural skills, became farm workers; those who had more advanced education were assigned as teachers of rural schools. According to a report in the Jen-min Jih-pao of September 28, 1955, by that time about 17 million unemployed students had been sent to rural areas from the city. By 1963, it was reported about 40 million city-schooled people were taking part in various kinds of productive work on farms; and in the year 1964 alone, more than 3 million city youth moved to the countryside.[12]

However, after the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution in 1966, a great number of these exiled youth deserted farmwork and returned to the city to join the revolution. Recognizing the seriousness of the appearance of the crowds of unruly youth in the city, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council jointly issued a statement urging the youth to go back to the communes to which they had been assigned, to start revolution there.[13] Thereafter, new momentum was given to the movement of city youth "up to mountains and down to countryside." As a result, by 1970 millions of graduates from junior and senior middle schools had relocated in rural areas. The government now claims that there is no place in the country without a certain number of schooled people, and that most of these have assumed leadership in various programs for socialist reconstruction of the nation. In

Sun-ke County of Heilungkiang Province, in the northeast of China, for instance, 47 former city youths have taken up the leadership in the commune and production brigades; 68 have become cadres of the local militia; and 1,029 are working as spare-time school teachers, barefoot doctors, bookkeepers, tractor-operators, civil engineers, or rural electricians.[14]

One may conclude that most of the out-of-school teen-agers from the cities, whether dropouts or graduates who chose not to have any more education, have now moved to the countryside. There, along with the local youth, they are given training in the agricultural middle schools, in Communist labor universities, or simply under apprenticeship, and have been assigned to teach in rural schools or to work in crafts shops and on the farms.

NOTES

CHAPTER VIII. TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR URBAN YOUTHS

1. See Liao Ch'un-wen, "Kuan-hsin ching-hsao-nien te hsiao-wai sheng-huo" (Pay attention to the out-of-school life of the youth), in Hung-ch'i (Red-flag), No. 9, 1969, pp. 39-42.

2. Jen-min Jih-pao (People's Daily), February 4, 1967.

3. Jen-min Jih-pao, May 31, 1970.

4. Lin piao, "Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts Must Be Studied Conscientiously and Diligently," in The Great Cultural Revolution in China, compiled by the Asia Research Center, Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1968, p. 372.

5. Jen-min Jih-pao, May 31, 1970.

6. Jen-min Jih-pao, May 11, 1968.

7. Kwang-ming Daily, May 30, 1970.

8. Loc. Cit.

9. Jen-min Jih-pao, February 25, 1969.

10. See the decision concerning the plan for full employment of the people in the country adopted by the State Council, August 1952, in Kung-fei chung-yao tzu-lao hui-pien -- wen-hua, chiao-yu, she-hui p'ien (Selections of important documents of Chinese Communists -- cultural, educational and social affairs). Taipei, Taiwan: China Cultural Service, 1953. Vol. 6, pp. 121-134.

11. See Chapter V.

12. Jen-min Jih-pao, October 10, 1965.

13. Jen-min Jih-pao, October 8, 1967.

14. Jen-min Jih-Pao, May 4, 1970.

IX. TACHAI, A MODEL OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT[1]

Tachai Village was hailed as a national model in 1964. It stands for the spirit of self-reliance and resoluteness. A small, ordinary village with a population of about 300, Tachai is located on a slope of the craggy Taihang Mountain in Shansi Province, northern China. Its natural surroundings are no better than those of any of the other thousands of farm villages in China; the climate is dry; the soil, stony. Two decades ago, few were aware of its existence.

Today, however, no village in China is more famous. Because of its success in increasing agricultural production, Tachai has become a center of pilgrimage, and among its visitors have been scores of agricultural specialists from other countries -- Japan, France, Sweden, Britain, Tanzania, and Italy among them. "In agriculture, learn from Tachai" became the watchword for Chinese people. Since 1964, millions of Chinese peasants, motivated by the aspiration to "let the flowers of Tachai bloom all over the country," have labored arduously to create their own Tachais.

The story of Tachai goes back to 1945, when the area was first liberated by Communist guerrillas from Japanese occupation. As the Taihang Mountain was an important base for the Communists to conduct

guerrilla warfare against the Japanese in northern China, this rural area had long been virtually controlled by the Communists. Their influence in this area was strong and their socialist policies were carried out well.[2]

After the Communists came into the area, the people in Tachai Village, like those in other villages in the area, were encouraged to start a program of land reform. Landlords were driven away from their homes and their lands were divided among the peasants, according to the policy of "land to the tiller."

The total acreage of cultivated land in Tachai, including lands of both landlords and peasants, at the time was reported to be 800 mou (one mou is equal to approximately one-sixth of an acre), divided into 2,400 tiny plots, with barely enough room for a tractor on some. After the land reform campaign, each peasant had his own share of land, but land reform alone seemed unable to bring them a better life. Because of the lack of the necessary animals and tools, most of the peasants had no way to cultivate the scattered plots.

In 1946, Ch'en Yung-kuei, the protagonist of the Tachai drama, then a thirty-two-year-old peasant, first responded to a suggestion of the Communist Party and organized a mutual-aid team with nine other peasant families. They worked together and worked hard. Consequently, their farm production was more than that of other individual peasants. People in the village soon saw the advantage of organized labor, and 49 more families joined the team.

By 1952, the mutual-aid team, under the direction of the local branch of the party, was transformed into a "primary-stage agricultural cooperative," buying animals and tools for joint use. Private ownership was still honored, however. As a result of the cooperation of the peasants on the farms, the output of food grain per mou for the first year of the agricultural cooperative was reported to be 237 jin (one jin is about 1.1 lb.), an increase of 68 jin over the previous year's record-breaking production.

As private ownership was recognized, those who held more shares in the cooperative got more dividends from it. So the richer peasants who had more land, animals, and farming tools profited more than others from the cooperative. In many cases, the richer peasants did not even have to take part in the labor to profit. The poor peasants, on the other hand, had nothing but their labor to invest in the cooperative. Therefore, the poor peasants were discontent and often complained. Moreover, farming was reportedly often interrupted by incidents caused by some owners who did not want certain peasants to use their animals or tools. Because of these problems production increases were unimpressive.

In 1956, however, the "primary-stage agricultural cooperative" was promoted to a "higher or socialist" form, under which private land, animals, and tools were purchased by the cooperative on an installment plan. Thereafter, they all became joint property, and the harvest was divided in proportion to the labor performed by each individual peasant.

In the first year, the average yield of food grain per mou increased from 237 jin of the previous years to 340 jin. There were fewer complaints from the poor peasants, but the formerly rich ones found it difficult to conceal their discontent.

Following the tide of merging cooperatives into communes, Tachai Village in 1958 became a production brigade of the Tachai People's Commune. Under the leadership of Ch'en Yung-kuei, the brigade produced a record 774 jin per mou in 1962, and 826 jin in 1964. Thereby, Tachai brigade was hailed as a national model. Production continued to increase and reached a peak of 940 jin per mou in 1969. On November 1, 1965, a National Tachai-style Agricultural Exhibition was held in Peking.

The hard labor of land reclamation and water control undertaken by the people for more than 20 years was reported to have transformed a previously unknown and poor village into a place of confidence, hope, and pride. The villagers, who used to live in caves, have now moved into new two-story brick buildings. Cattle and sheep graze on hillsides. Will and effort seem to have brought promise of a bright future for Tachai.

The stages of the development of Tachai from a poor village to a nationally renowned production brigade were not formulated by the villagers themselves. Rather, following the lead of Ch'en Yung-kei and his associates, the villagers worked in accord with the formula of transformation prescribed by the Chinese Communist Party, which had designated the new democratic stage, 1949-1952; the socialist reform

stage, 1953-1957; and the socialist reconstruction stage, from 1958 on.

Role of Nonformal Education in Tachai's Development

Regardless of the ideological implications, the transformation and modernization of Tachai mark a successful example of nonformal education for rural development. The Chinese Communists believe that to transform the land, it is necessary first to transform the people's thoughts and motivations. The development of Tachai was based on such an assumption. To change the people's thoughts through nonformal education, a teaching force of tutors -- literate members of the village -- was built up. These tutors were to teach the people and help them to "struggle - criticize - transform": to struggle to develop Tachai; to criticize the worldly outlook of adhering to old customs and of fearing difficulty and hardship; and to transform both the village and the people within it. The tutors began their task with a literacy campaign, using the "Three Old Articles" written by Mao Tse-tung as textbooks.[3] It might seem somehow impractical to combine ideological indoctrination with literacy education. However, the outcome of the practice was considered satisfactory by Ch'en Yung-kuei, the leader of the Tachai brigade, who once said:

> How can we have the Tachai spirit? Only by studying the three men described in the "Three Old Articles" by Chairman Mao. Without Chang Szu-teh's spirit of serving the people wholly and entirely, without Bethune's spirit of being absolutely unselfish; without the Foolish Old Man's spirit of surmounting every difficulty to win victory, there would be no Tachai spirit at all.[4]

The literacy programs were carried out through the method of literate teaches illiterates. The teaching-learning activities followed no

fixed arrangement: they could take place on the farm or in the village, during a work break or after supper, if the peasants were not occupied by meetings or public discussions called by their leaders. The aim of the programs was to develop the peasants' abilities to read, to recite from memory, to apply what they had learned, to lecture, and to write. There is no evidence from available sources that the peasants are now able to read or write, but they can recite some of Mao's words as quotations in their conversations, and they can also nod their assent and show understanding when their leaders quote Mao's words in meetings or public discussions.

It is said that there is a big willow tree in the center of Tachai Village. Whenever weather permits, the villagers bring their suppers there to get together under the willow tree and to enjoy talking in the open-air after a long day of hard work. This place is known in the village as the "dining square," and since 1953 has been used for mass education, public discussions, mass criticism, and ideological education, which frequently take place while the people are gathered to have their supper. Many village problems and public issues were discussed and solved in these symposiums-under-the-willow-tree.

The achievements by which Tachai Village has won its title as a national model are twofold. First, Tachai is recognized for the spirit of self-reliance. The villagers, relying solely on their own hard work, have transformed the rocky slopes into high-yield terraced farmland. They planted trees to prevent water loss and soil erosion, dug ponds

and channels, and built water conservation projects. Men and women, old and young, plunged into the arduous tasks with sheer labor and won a basic victory in developing their village. Second, Tachai has achieved technical innovations in agriculture through the people's collective studies and scientific experiments. The people of Tachai, collaborating with agricultural technicians sent by the party and with the experienced peasants in the village, carried out their studies and experiments according to the contents of the "eight-word charter of agriculture," soil, fertilizer, water, seeds, density of plants, protection, implement and management.

Since 1953, under the direction of the technicians from the extension department of the county government, the people of Tachai established "experiment plots" scattered over different locations for different purposes. One plot is used for fertilizer experiment, another for seeds, and so on. For ten years, meeting both success and failure in their experiments, the people of Tachai not only increased farm production but also realized that scientific methods are superior to the traditional ways of farming, and that things indigenous are not always the best.

Tachai is talked about frequently and discussed widely in various publications in China and abroad. But the true story of Tachai is unknown to many. It would be of significant interest, regardless of the emphasis on ideological purposes, to investigate Tachai in detail as a case study of the role that nonformal education can play in rural development.

NOTES

CHAPTER IX. TACHAI, A MODEL OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

1. The materials used in this section of the report are drawn mainly from the following sources:
   (a) Chang Li-chuan and Ho Chan-ao, Tachai. Taiyuan: Shansi People's Publications, 1965. (in Chinese).
   (b) Tao Lu-chia, Jang Tachai ching-shen pien-ti kai-hua chieh-kuo (Let Tachai spirit bloom and bear fruit all over the country). Peking: Agricultural Publications, 1966.
   (c) Tachai hung-ch'i-p'iao (Red flag flying over Tachai). Peking: Agricultural Publications, 1966.
   (d) Yu-hsien Party Committee (ed.), Hsueh-Tachai-jen, tsou-Tachai lu, chien-Tachai-tien (Learn from the Tachai people, follow the Tachai road, and build the Tachai-type of land). Peking: Agricultural Publications, 1966.

2. For details of the Communists' operation in this area, see William Hinton, Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village. New York: Vintage Paperback, 1966.

3. The "Three Old Articles":
   (1) To Serve the People was written, in 1944, in memory of a soldier named Chang Szu-teh, who was an old and loyal member of the Communist party. On September 5, 1944, he was working by a kiln, and suddenly the kiln collapsed and he died in the accident. Mao used him as a model of giving one's own life for the people.
   (2) In Memory of Norman Bethune was written, in 1939, in memory of a Canadian doctor who came to China in 1937 to render medical service in the liberated areas to the soldiers in the Sino-Japanese War. On November 12, 1939, he died of septicemia caused by an untreated wound on his finger--early that November he had slashed his finger during a hurried operation while the Japanese were moving in on his unit. Mao praised his profound and undiscriminating compassion and love for mankind and regarded him as a symbol of the true spirit of Communism and internationalism.
   (3) The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains is a Chinese version of Aesop's Fable. Once upon a time there was an old man who was trying to remove the two mountains which blocked the roads leading to his house. One neighbor ridiculed him, but the old man told him that if he could not finish removing them, his son would continue, and so would his son's son, and so on. Finally the gods sympathized with

his determination and sent two spirits to move the mountains away. Mao used this theme, in 1945, to write the article and metaphorically stated that there were two mountains, namely, imperialism and feudalism, which blocked China's development, and that the Chinese Communists were determined to move these two mountains away. Nowadays, the mountains are used to imply difficulties of any kind. The three articles have been widely used on the China mainland to encourage in the people the virtues of perseverance and of serving the people unselfishly.

Significant as the themes of Mao's works may be as an ideological weapon to arouse the enthusiasm of the rural masses for the programs of development, it would have been inappropriate to use the "Three Old Articles" as a textbook for literacy education. The style of Mao's writing and his vocabulary can by no means be considered suitable for the illiterate peasants to learn.

4. Ch'en Yung-kuei, China Reconstructs. Peking, June, 1970, p. 12.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Available source materials from the China mainland in the field of nonformal education are discouragingly scarce and fragmentary. To provide a broader perspective for viewing China's programs of nonformal education, this bibliography, in addition to the source materials used in this report, includes a list of suggested readings on recent trends of educational development and educational models suggested by experts for the developing areas.

Periodicals and Newspapers

In Chinese

Chung-kung Yen-ch'iu (English title: Studies on Chinese Communism). Taipei, Taiwan: The Institute for The Study of Chinese Communist Problems.

A monthly journal which presents analyses of current Chinese Communist affairs with rather strong anti-Communist bias; its comprehensive coverage, including educational affairs, is timely and informative.

Hung-ch'i (Red-flag). Peking.

An official journal of the Chinese Communist Party carrying important statements of the Party's policies with respect to China's national affairs including education. Two special issues of the Proletarian Revolution in Education, No. 8 of 1970, and No. 6 of 1971, provide wide coverage of the activities of the recent revolution in education in China.

Jen-min Chiao-yu (People's Education). Peking: Association of People's Education.

A national journal on education started on May 1, 1950, carrying national education policies; reports of local educational problems and practices; studies of teaching materials and methods, and educational systems and practices of other socialist countries. The available issues in the United States are only up to the end of 1958.

Jen-min Jih-pao (People's Daily). Peking.

An official newspaper of the Chinese Communist Party. Articles and summaries of discussions on educational reform at institutions of higher learning as well as the secondary and primary schools have appeared often since 1966.

In English

The China Quarterly. London: Contemporary China Institute of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University.

Most articles are written by experts on certain aspects of the national affairs of Communist China, and some deal with events in Taiwan.

Survey of China Mainland Press. Hongkong: The U.S. Consulate General.

English translation of major newspapers on the China mainland. Information on educational affairs of various localities in China is occasionally available.

Books

In Chinese

Chang Li-chuan and Ho Chan-ao. Tachai. Taiyuan: Shansi People's Publications, 1965. 128p.

A small book describing in detail the transformation of a poverty-stricken mountain village into a place of hope and confidence through various programs of nonformal education, which comprise mainly ideological indoctrination through mass discussion and agricultural skills learned by doing.

Chiangsi Kung-chan Ju-yi Lao-tung Ta-hsüeh, (ed.). Pan-kung Pan-tu Yü-hsin-jen (To turn out new educated man through programs of half-work and half-study). Nanchang: Chiangsi Educational Publications, 1965. 290p.

A collection of articles dealing with programs of half-work, half-study and of "combining education with production" at Chiangsi Communist Labor University and its branches throughout the province. This kind of university has become a popular model in the recent proletarian revolution in education in China.

Kung-fei Chung-yao Tzu-liao Hui-pien——Wen-chiao P'ien (Collections of important official documents of the Chinese Communist government - culture and education). Taipei, Taiwan: China Cultural Service, 1952. 160p.

A wide assortment of published statements of policies and regulations governing activities in tne area of culture and education during the early years of the Chinese Communist regime.

Kung-fei Chung-yao Tzu-liao Hui-pien Hsu-pien - Wen-hua, Chiao-yu, She-hui (A second collection of important official documents of the Chinese Communist government - culture, education, and social affairs). Taipei, Taiwan: China Cultural Service, 1953, 208p.

A collection of articles, speeches and directives concerning cultural and educational activities and social affairs. Labor unions, child welfare, and women's rights constitute a large proportion of the section of social affairs.

Yuan Chun-chao. Kung-fei Chung-teng Chiao-yu te P'i-p'an (Chinese secondary education under Communism). Taipei, Taiwan: China Cultural Service, 1959. 184p.

A critical review of the educational innovations by the Chinese Communists, including the spare-time schools, the short-term schools, the agricultural middle schools, and the principle of "combining education with production."

Yuan Chun-chao. Kung-fei Hsueh-chih Kai-ke Hou te Kao-teng Chiao-yu. (Higher education after the reorganization of the universities and colleges in Communist China). Taipei, Taiwan: China Cultural Service, 1957. 124p.

An analysis of the purposes of the reorganization of the institutions of higher learning and their problems in operation. Accounts of the curriculums and student activities in the author's selected universities are very informative.

In English

Hu, Chang-tu (ed.). Chinese Education Under Communism. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1962. 157p.

An anthology of articles and speeches by leading educators in Communist China. The introductory article, "Tradition and Change in Chinese Education," by the editor gives an excellent account of educational development in contemporary China in the context of Chinese history and philosophy.

Orleans, Leo A.. Professional Manpower and Education in Communist China. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961. xii, 260p.

A thorough study of educational programs and their relationship to the formation of manpower in China during the first decade of the Communist regime. Contains useful statistics and an appendix of the names of institutions of higher learning.

Price, R.F.. Education in Communist China. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970. xix, 308p.

An ambitious but sketchy book on education in China, starting with Mao's thought and Chinese tradition and ending with the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. A case study of foreign language teaching (pp. 172-190) is informative and useful.

Priestley, K.E.. Education in China. Hong Kong: The Green Pagoda Press, 1961. 72p.

A brief account of the impact of the Chinese Communist revolution on the formation of China's new education.

Richman, Barry M.. Industrial Society in Communist China. New York: Random House, 1969. 968p.

An expert first-hand study of China's economic development and management and how the new educational programs create favorable sociological-cultural environments for economic growth.

Suggested Readings

Coombs, Philip H.. The World Educational Crisis - A Systems Analysis. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968. x, 241p.

A comprehensive review of world-wide educational problems by a leading authority on educational planning and international education, who not only analyzes the problems but suggests guidelines to deal with them. Chapter V, advancing the idea of nonformal education, opens a new frontier in the study of development education.

International Bureau of Education. Educational Trends in 1970: An International Survey. Paris: UNESCO, 1970. 61p.

A brief, synoptic view of the situations and changes of world education. Contains the text of the report of the 32nd session of the International Conference on Education, in Geneva, 1-9 July 1970, and an appendix of useful statistics.

Myrdal, Gunnar. Asian Drama: An Inquiry Into the Poverty of Nations. Volume III. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1968. xvii, 1533-2284p.

An investigation of the qualities of populations of South and Southeast Asia. Education in each country of this area is examined from the development point of view.

UNESCO. An Asian Model of Educational Development: Perspectives for 1965-80. Paris: UNESCO, 1966. 126p.

An examination of overall conditions in Asia, including discussion in detail of the problems in educational development in the area. A quantity-oriented model of educational development was drawn upon the request of the Conference of the Ministers of Education of Asian Member States (mainland China excluded), which met in Tokyo in April 1962, and examined by the Conference of Ministers of Education and Ministers Responsible for Economic Planning of Member States in Asia at Bangkok in November 1965.

APPENDIX

"A Draft of Programs for Rural Primary and Middle Schools"

On May 12, 1969, the Jen-min Jih-pao (People's Daily) published the full text of "A Draft of Programs for Rural Primary and Middle Schools," submitted by the revolutionary committee of Lishu County in Kirin Province in northeastern China. Attached to the draft, there was an editor's note encouraging people throughout the country to discuss and comment on the draft. The editor also expressed his hope that the draft, with amendments, might become a blueprint for primary and middle school education in China. Reports of the discussions and suggested amendments have been intermittently published in the Jen-min Jih-pao. As yet no report of consensus has been made.

From the editor's note, it may be understood that the search is on for a permanent and normal form of education, after the various revolutions in recent years. Following is the English translation of the text from the Jen-min Jih-pao:

Chapter I: General Guidelines

"The rural primary and middle schools, managed directly by the poor and lower-middle peasants under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, will be new types of socialist schools.

These schools must loftily hold the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought; give prominence to proletarian politics; and fully implement Chairman Mao's May Seventh directive, 'the students, while taking

study as primary duty, must learn other things as well, namely, in addition to regular studies, they must learn about industry, agriculture, military science, and criticize the bourgeoisie.'

The rural primary and middle schools must thoroughly carry out the policy advanced by Chairman Mao, 'education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor.' They must be kept absolutely free from the . . . influence of the counter-revolutionary and revisionist line of education; censure the effects of the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits; and insure [that] the proletarian revolutionaries in politics, ideology and organization firmly hold the educational front.

The rural primary and middle schools must be able to meet the educational needs of the poor and lower-middle peasants; to provide every possible convenience for the children of the poor and lower-middle peasants to attend the school; and truthfully to serve the poor and lower-middle peasants as well as other members in the commune.

The aim of the rural primary and middle schools is to give students a well rounded development morally, intellectually and physically so as to turn them into laborers with socialist consciousness and culture. Thus the young generation in the rural areas, tempered by the three revolutionary movements -- class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiments, will become reliable successors to the cause of proletarian revolution, loyal to the great leader Mao Tse-tung, loyal to Mao Tse-tung's thought and his revolutionary line; and wholeheartedly devote themselves to the service of the Chinese people and the great majority of the people over the world as well.

Chapter II: Leadership

Article 1. According to Chairman Mao's instruction, 'in the rural areas, schools should be managed by the poor and low-middle peasants -- the most reliable ally of the working class'; the rural middle schools should have a 'three-in-one' revolutionary committee, which comprises poor and lower-middle peasants as the mainstay, cadres from communes and production brigades, and representatives of the revolutionary teachers and students. The primary schools should be superintended singly by the leading educational group of the production brigade, and the members of this leading group selected from the school are responsible for handling the school routine work.

(Some comrades think that there should be a revolutionary committee in charge of educational affairs under the commune revolutionary committee, while others think otherwise.)

Article 2. The fundamental task of the poor and lower-middle peasants who are in charge of managing the schools is to insure the thorough implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line, principles and policies. The success of the 'struggle-criticism-transformation' in school; the ideological revolution of the teachers; and the decision-making upon and the review of the school budget are all dependent upon the activists from among the revolutionary teachers and students in the school.

Article 3. The poor and lower-middle peasants must apply the principle of 'democratic centralism' to the management of schools, and put the

school under the leadership of politics. They should regularly have the work report of the school, so that the school can be surely and permanently under their control and supervision. They must also study and make decisions on major problems of the school. As a general rule, they should not separate themselves from production.

Chapter III: Ideological and Political Work

Article 4. Politics is the commander and the soul of revolution. The primary purpose of the ideological and political work in schools is to make Mao Tse-tung's thought prevailing, and to give first priority to the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the schools.

Article 5. The teachers' as well as the students' minds must be armed with Mao Tse-tung's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of proletariat, and their awareness of class struggle and the struggle between two lines -- capitalist and proletarian -- should be promoted through constant education regarding situation and responsibility, and the party's directives and policies. Students must be taught to have definite and clear goals in learning, and to take the revolutionary road of making allies with workers, peasants and soldiers.

(Some comrades suggested that in the ideological and political work, students should be reminded not to forget the real characteristics of the poor and lower-middle peasants.)

Article 6. Those who are in schools should constantly learn from the People's Liberation Army and give prominence to proletarian politics. They should also persist in the 'four firsts'[1] and flourish the 'three-eight working style'.[2]

Article 7. The rural primary and middle schools must establish a new type of relationship between teachers and students -- mutual promoting in politics, mutual rectifying in ideology, mutual learning in teaching and learning, and mutual help in daily life.

Article 8. School education, social education and family education should be linked together, and the three should work collaboratively for students' ideological and political education.

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[1] This appeared in a speech of Lin Piao delivered at the meeting of the Military Commission of Chinese Communist Party in October 1960 in Peking. He talked about his four principles in dealing with the relationship between men and weapons, "human factor is first"; between political work and any other work, "political work first"; between routine work and ideological work, "ideological work first"; and between books and living ideas, "living idea first."

[2] From the available reference materials, it is known that Hsiao Hua, the former Political Commissioner of the People's Liberation Army, first made such a phrase in a speech delivered at the convention of the progressive educators and intellectuals in Peking, May 21, 1960. "Three" refers to three phrases once used by Mao Tse-tung: stick to your correct political direction; arduous and simple working style; and maneuverable and active strategy and tactics. "Eight" refers to eight Chinese characters written by Mao Tse-tung for K'angta (The Resist Japan Military and Political University) as its emblem at Yen-an. The characters are: "t'uan-chieh" (unity); "chin-chang" (alertness); "yen-su" (earnestness); and "huo-p'o" (liveliness). It is a rather awkward expression, in which the three phrases contain twenty-seven Chinese characters, and the eight characters represent exactly only four Chinese words. Therefore the "three" and "eight" have no logical connection whatsoever in this expression.

Article 9. In the rural primary and middle schools, the leadership of the members of the Communist Youth League and the Red Guards should come to a full play. Thus they can help the party organization and the school revolutionary committee to carry out ideological and political education effectively. The school must actively disseminate Mao Tse-tung's thought and participate in all the necessary social activities so that its revolutionary standing, scientific approach and the sense of discipline and organization can be strengthened.

(Some comrades suggested: the organization of the "Little Red Soldiers" should be added.)

Chapter IV: Distribution of Schools and School Systems

Article 10. All the unreasonable regulations and systems of the old schools must be abolished. According to the practical situation, the necessary proletarian regulations and systems must be instituted so as to establish a revolutionary new order.

Article 11. The location of the rural primary and middle schools should be decided upon solely for 'the convenience of the peasants' children to attend the school' (Mao's saying), regardless of the boundaries of the political administration regions.

The primary schools should be managed by production brigade, and the middle schools by commune. The commune may set up middle schools in some selected areas within its jurisdiction, or the middle school is run by several production brigades. If conditions permit,

a production brigade may alone run a middle school. The appropriation of the school expenses should follow the principle of 'min-pan, kung-chu' ('local people manage, government subsidizes').

Article 12. The rural primary and middle schools may adopt a system of a through-course of nine years. The sections in a school year should be made in accordance with the local situation and desire.

Article 13. Based upon the actual needs for agricultural development of the locality, counties and communes may run schools of agricultural technology to disseminate agricultural skills and knowledge, and to train agricultural technicians. The admission of students to such schools must be made on the condition of 'she-lai she-ch'u' ('from the commune and to the commune').

Arcicle 14. Age qualification for admission, the old style of examinations and the system of repeating, which were enforced along the counter-revolutionary and revisionist lines, must be abolished altogether. Students with good standing in political ideology and studies should be allowed to jump up to an appropriate higher grade.

The admission of students to the rural middle schools should be based on a combination of recommendation and selection with priority given to the children of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and veterans.

(Concerning the age qualification for admission to primary schools, there are two different opinions: one favors that it should be at age 6; the other at age 7.)

Article 15. For the convenience of the state to make an overall management throughout the country, the rural primary and middle schools have their school year beginning from the spring season.

Article 16. Upon graduation from the rural primary and middle schools, students must go back to the village to participate in the three revolutionary movements in order to serve the socialist reconstruction of the country.

Chapter V: Teachers

Article 17. 'The basic problems in educational reform are the problems of teachers' (Mao's saying). The rural primary and middle schools must make all efforts to secure a true proletarian teaching force.

In complying with Chairman Mao's policy of uniting, educating and reforming intellectuals, the rural primary and middle schools should conscientiously recruit their teachers. The former teachers are all welcome if they like to come back to serve the poor and lower-middle peasants, but those who are class enemies and have infiltrated into the teaching groups must be totally weeded out. The poor and lower-middle peasants who are loyal to Mao Tse-tung's

thought and qualified for teaching; the veterans; and the educated youth who have tempered themselves by the productive labor for a certain period of time must be selected and appointed to be teachers.

The hiring and dismissal of teachers must be first discussed by the poor and lower-middle peasants, then the production brigade revolutionary committee gives its opinion, and the commune revolutionary committee makes the final decision and reports to the county revolutionary committee to put it on record.

Article 19. The poor and lower-middle peasants who have practical experience, and the activists from among the revolutionary cadres and the militiamen who know how to learn and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought creatively must be selected and appointed to be part-time teachers or to organize them into a travelling teaching corps.

Article 20. Following Chairman Mao's instruction, 'because they are educators and teachers, they have obligation to receive re-education first,' teachers in the rural primary and middle schools must actively take part in the three revolutionary movements; go to the production brigade to join in the productive labor for a given period of time; and...receive re-education from the poor and lower-middle peasants so as to reform their world outlooks.

Teachers must be given enough time for them to do cultural learning and professional studies. They must try to improve their standard of teaching performance through in-service or the rotating off-duty trainings.

Article 21. Since the responsibilities for running village schools have been transferred from local government to production brigade, the decision on the salaries of teachers should be made on the basis of the system of work-points. The payment of the salary should be made under the policy of 'min-pan kung chu' ('local people manage, government subsidizes'), that is, to pay for work-points with an allowance from the government funds. The salary of a teacher must be able to insure him not to lower his original standard of living. Work-points are counted annually, and equal pay for equal work regardless of sex difference.

(Concerning the salary of middle school teachers, some comrades favor the policy of 'min-pan kung-chu', teachers paid according to their work-points with an allowance from government funds; others favor working out a new method without work-points.)

Article 22. The sick-leave, free medical care and funeral expenses for teachers are all paid according to the current regulations before the new ones are promulgated and become effective. Teachers who have scheduled to, but have not yet returned to their local production brigade to join the productive labor, are still entitled a leave of absence for family reunion.

Article 23. The number of students in each class in the rural primary and middle schools should be limited from 30 to 50. The teaching staff, in the middle schools each class should be on the average assigned 2.5 teachers (adjustment can be made by the commune

or production brigade according to the real need in different grades); in the primary schools, 1.3 teachers for each class.

Chapter VI: Teaching

Article 24. Following Chairman Mao's instruction, 'courses offered by schools must be fewer but essential, and teaching materials must be revised thoroughly, in some case, it ought to begin with simplifying the complicated ones,' and 'while their primary duty is to study, students should also learn other things,' in curriculum organization, prominence must be given to proletarian politics; theories must be linked with practices; and courses must be few but essential.

In primary schools, there are five courses: politics and language; arithmetics; revolutionary literature and arts; military training and physical education; and productive labor.

In middle schools, there are five courses: education in Mao Tse-tung's thought (including modern Chinese history, contemporary history, history of the struggles between two lines inside the party); fundamentals of agriculture (including mathematics, physics, chemistry, and economic geography); revolutionary literature and arts (including languages); military training and physical education (including learning of Mao Tse-tung's thought on people's liberation war; reinforcing the idea of preparation for war) and initiating activities of military training and physical education; and productive labor.

(With regard to the middle school curriculum, there was a suggestion that the curriculum should include: education in Mao Tse-tung's thought, fundamentals of agriculture, mathematics, physics, chemistry, languages, revolutionary literature and arts, and military training and physical education.)

With respect to the importance of the courses, subjects in politics, compared with productive labor and cultural courses, are the most important because politics is the commander-general over all others. But in the apportionment of class hours, cultural courses should constitute a larger proportion: 60 per cent in middle schools and not less than 70 per cent in primary schools.

Article 25. The rural primary and middle schools should hold classes for about 40 weeks a year (including labor hours). During the farming busy-season, the schools should be closed for 35 days to give students time to work on the farm. The closing period can be flexible to meet the local as well as the students' needs.

(Some poor and lower-middle peasants suggested that schools should be closed for 45 to 60 days during the busy season. The length of summer and winter vacations should be about 35 days. Some comrades suggested that this ought to leave to each school to decide according to the local climate.)

Article 26. In line with Chairman Mao's instruction, 'teaching materials must be seasoned with some local flavor, and native materials should also be added,' schools in various localities should

organize workers, peasants and soldiers together with teachers and students to compile native teaching materials as supplements to the textbooks prepared uniformly by the state to enrich the contents of teaching.

Article 27. The link of theory with practice should become the main concern in teaching. Teachers should apply Mao Tse-tung's 'ten teaching methods[3],' and use the 'method of enlightening.' Teaching should begin with easy subjects and then to difficult ones, and go from the fundamental to the advanced. Teachers must also try to motivate students to learn. Officers and soldiers can mutually teach each other; so do teachers and students. Classroom learning must be connected with field practices. Full-time and part-time teachers must cooperate with each other. Learning must be immediately followed by application. Students in the upper classes of primary schools and those in middle schools should be encouraged to undertake self-learning, discussions, and to learn to use Mao Tse-tung's thought to distinguish fragrant flowers (good things) from poisonous weeds (bad things). Students must also be given sufficient time to read, to think, to analyze, to criticize and to study problems.

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[3] Reference is not available.

Article 28. The rural primary and middle schools must assign appropriate homework to students, and have examinations to check students' achievements. The examinations may be conducted in the form of open-book examination and field practice. Teachers must conscientiously correct students' homework and examination papers, and try to elevate students' ability to analyze and solve problems.

Chapter VII: Industriousness and Thriftiness in Education

Article 29. The administrators in schools must determinedly take the road of self-reliance to run the school, and try to make it as economical as possible so as to lighten the financial burden of the poor and lower-middle peasants for their children's education. The administrators must also take the stand against any form of excessiveness and wastefulness, supereminence and exoticism. If conditions permit, each school should provide a spot for production and engage the students in practical work, such as farming, forestry, livestock-raising, handcrafts, fishing, and scientific experiments when possible.

Article 30. In carrying out Chairman Mao's instruction, 'students from rural areas should use their vacations, holidays and off-class time to go back to the village to take part in the productive work,' students must be encouraged to participate in the productive work in communes or brigades in addition to the laboring hours inside school. The labor work inside school must be conducted at the scheduled hours. Any profit from students' labor should be disposed by the commune or the production brigade."